A

VINDICATION
OF THE
SINCERITY
OF THE
Protestant Religion
In the Point of Obedience to SOVEREIGNES.

Opposed
To the Doctrine of Rebellion, authorised and practised by the Pope and the Jesuites.

In Answer to a Jesuitical Libel, Entituled
PHILANAX ANGLICUS

By PETER Du MOULIN, D. D. Canon of Christ-Church *Canterbury*, one of His Majesties Chaplains.

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Geo. Stradling, *S.T.P.*
Rever. in Chriſto Pat.
Dom. Gilb. *Archiep.*
Cant. à *Sacr. Domeſt.*

To the Most Reverend Father in God, GILBERT, *Lord Archbishop of* Canterbury *his* Grace, *Primate of all* England *and Metropolitan, my most Honoured* Diocesan *and* Visitor.

My Lord,

AN Adversary of the Truth, and therefore Yours, hath lately offered to your Grace the same abuse as the *Roman Souldiers* did to the Lord Jesus. For as they arrayed him in Royal Scarlet, bowed the Knee before him, and said to him, *Hail King of the Jews*; but at the same time spit upon him, and smote him on the head: This enemy, who is also a *Roman Souldier*, clotheth your Grace with high praises, and makes a profound obeysance to your Place and Merits in an Epistle Dedicatory; But by the same Epistle he puts under your Graces Protection

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ction a charge of Rebellion againſt our Catholick Orthodox Church, and an Apologie for the Doctrine of the Jeſuites. This is ſtroaking and ſtriking together. No blame is ſo diſgraceful as ſuch praiſes. So did the Devil call Chriſt the Son of the living God, to diſgrace him by his Teſtimony, and make him to be taken for one of his Confederates. The man never appearing to own his work, ſeems to acknowledge, that neither his perſon nor his work deſerveth the notice of the world. Yet I thought it neceſſary to let the world know what a cheat is put upon the Readers by this childe of darkneſs, who being altogether unknown to your Grace (as your ſelf were pleaſed to expreſs unto me) beareth himſelf for your ancient Acquaintance, and claims your Patronage, while he diſgraceth your Perſon, and revileth your Doctrine. Neither doth the Libel,

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being but an ignorant ſcolding, deſerve an anſwer; but that the man recompenceth his ſhallow learning with his ſuperlative malice, making uſe of this conjuncture, when the minds of loyal ſubjects are exulcerated by their late and long ſufferings by rebellious Zelots under pretence of Religion, to make the ſufferers to fall out with Religion it ſelf.

Theſe are the depths of Satan, who knows perfectly how to ſteer the ſpirits by the Rudder of their moſt ſenſible Intereſſes, and at this time labours to drown the too remiſs ſenſe of holy Belief, in the quick reſentments of perſonal oppreſſion. Bleſſed be God that he is come ſhort of his aim in this attempt; and that this Libeller by his Impoſture hath only ſtirred the juſt indignation of good Chriſtians, in whom the intereſs of Gods truth and glory takes place before all perſonal concernments.

Himſelf

Himſelf might have bin an example of that juſt ſeverity which he commends in your Grace, if he had been as bold to Preſent the Book, as audacious to Dedicate it to ſo great a Patron. I cannot but have recourſe unto the ſame Patron which he hath choſen for his untruths, to protect the confutation of them: Knowing, that the Vindication of the Truth, is in its right place, being put under your Graces protection; in whoſe ſhadow the Church rejoyceth, as of the gracious Patron of Piety and Vertue, the Incourager of Goodneſs, the Maintainer of the Orthodox Faith; and in that reſpect, the right Arm of the great *Defender* of the ſame. That your Government may be bleſſed unto the Church, and Proſperous and Honourable unto your Self, is the fervent prayer

My LORD,

of Your GRACES

Moſt dutiful and humbleſt Servant,

PETER DU MOULIN

To the *Roman Catholicks* of His Majeſties Dominions.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THe Adverſary againſt whom I appear having laid a Charge of Rebellion againſt a ſort of Proteſtants in his Title page, hath in his Book brought the generality of Proteſtants under that Indictment. I will not imitate his unſincerity, by laying that charge proper to the Court of *Rome*, and the Jeſuites, upon all the Roman Catholicks, knowing the Loyalty of many of them, with whoſe acquaintance I am honoured, and making uſe in this Treatiſe of the Teſtimony of great Perſons, and whole Courts and Societies of the Roman profeſſion, againſt the precepts of Diſloyalty enjoyned by the Roman Court, and acted by the Jeſuites. For to theſe only I profeſs that my preſent oppoſition is limitted. Only I will be here your humble Suitor, That ſince the Pope is called by Cardinal *Bellarmine*, *The* [a] *Head of the Faith*, and [b] *The Fundamental Stone of Sion*, you be pleaſed to conſider ſeriouſly, how taking the Popes ſenſe and authority for the foundation of your Faith in this point, can conſiſt with that Honour and Loyalty which you harbour in your generous Breaſts: And how you that venture your lives

[a] *Epiſt. ad Blackwell.*
[b] Præfat. ad lib. de ſummo Pontifice.

lives ſo freely for the Defence of your King, can acknowledge the power which the Pope aſſumeth of diſpoſing of the Crowns and Lives of Kings, and abſolving you from the duty of your Allegience when he thinks good. Certainly, when you have weighed this in the Ballance of Conſcience and ſound Judgement, you ſhall finde your ſelves hedged in within this *Dilemma*, Either to ceaſe to be good ſubjects, or to acknowledge that the Pope can erre, even when he ſpeaks and makes Decrees from his Chair. Of which Truth if you be once perſwaded, your way is open to know more Truth. That our faith may be ſetled upon that
Joh. 8. 32. *Truth which makes us free*, we muſt call upon the aſſiſtance of the God of Truth, and prepare for it a meek, docible, and unprejudiced ſpirit; which are qualities altogether remote from the furious and contumelious Adverſary whom I take in hand in this Treatiſe. Yet ſince they are not opprobrious terms, but clear proofs that are moſt offenſive to the accuſed, I cannot deny that I have been more offenſive to him, then he to the Proteſtants. God govern his Catholick Church with the Spirit of Truth and Peace, and convert with his bleſſings thoſe that curſe us. So prayeth

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Your moſt humble ſervant in the Lord Jeſus our Common Saviour,

Peter Du Moulin.

Preface.

The Deſigne, Style, and Genius of that Libel. Obſervations upon the Epiſtle and Prefaces.

THe licentiouſneſs of the Preſs hath long ſince beaten me to that patience to let others ſpeak, contenting my ſelf to think; Looking upon the eagerneſs of ſome men to confute all untruths that appear abroad, as a relick of Knight-Errantry, which obliged the Knights to redreſs all the wrongs that were done in the world. But my patience was overcome by the bold and pernicious untruths vented in a Libel, tending to no leſs then the rooting out of Proteſtants out of all States of the world, as Rebels by their very Religion, and the Bane of all Governments. The whole Work is purum putum mendacium, *right mettle of untruth in the main ſubſtance. The Title is falſe, for it picks a quarrel with the Presbyterians only, whereas the Book declareth open war to all the Proteſtants under heaven.*

The pretence falſe; for the Author pretends to undertake that task out of love to the King, whereas he works the Kings ruine by calumnies againſt his true Subjects, and by maintaining the Jeſuites, the ſworn enemies of his Crown and State. The face he puts on, is falſe many wayes; for he pretends in his Epiſtle and Prefaces to publiſh the Book of a dead man, whereas the uniformity, or rather deformity of the affected broken Style, and Billings-gate *language, in the Epiſtle, Prefaces, and body of the Book, ſhews all that falſe coin to have been ſtampt in the ſame baſe Mint. The Author is produced as a Prieſt of the Church of* England; *whereas he ſpeaks as a Prieſt of the Church of* Rome. *The Publiſher calls himſelf* Bellamy, *whereas he is a* falſe Friend, *and a true Enemy, and moſt like it is, that no ſuch man as he names himſelf, is to be found: For ſuch Vizards are borrowed by theſe children of darkneſs, A wrong Name, A contrary Profeſſion, A dead man that ſpeaks out of his Grave; three Vizards one over another; lyes upon lyes in the Porch; a right Entry into a Shop of Lyes.*

But how much falſhood is in the Epiſtle? Was Bellamy *or the pretended dead Author well acquainted with that venerable Prelate to whom the Book is dedicated?*

dedicated ? Did Bellamy *ever preſent the Book to his Lordſhip ? Did he chuſe him for his Patron, and ſtroak him with deſerved praiſes, to honour him, or to betray him, and make him odious, as a Patron of Popery, and Protector of Jeſuites ? And laſtly, the accuſations laid againſt the ſeveral Proteſtants, even theſe that are true, if any be, are they not falſely imputed to the generality of the party ? And are not moſt of the alledged paſſages out of their writings maimed, detorted, or plainly forged ?*

O God of Truth, who loveſt Truth in the inward parts, and lookeſt with piercing judicial eyes into the bottome of crafty projects through all the coverings of hypocriſie ; Is thy Truth to be defended with Falſhood ? What followſhip hath the ſimplicity of thy Goſpel with this heap of multiplyed Impoſtures ? And how can the zeal of Religion put a man that hath ſome ſenſe of Ingenuity, upon ſuch falſe and crooked wayes ? Well, I ſee my ſelf engaged to fight with wilde Beaſts, as St Paul *did at* Epheſus. Let God ariſe, and let his enemies be ſcattered. Let them alſo that hate him, flee before him.

I did not ſee the Book but after the ſecond Edition, eight moneths after its firſt appearing ; And

though I had ſeen it before, I would have made no haſte to appear upon the liſts againſt this Adverſary, but expected of the Secular Power a more ſubſtantial, and indeed the right Confutation. But what! the ſmalneſs of the Libel, and the Libeller, kept them hitherto from the Cenſure of Authority: For thoſe that ſtand in high places, can hardly diſcern ſuch ſtrawes below: But we that ſtand below, may look neerer, and ſee poyſon in a ſtraw; and ought to repreſent unto our Superiours the miſchievouſneſs of this ſmall, yet dangerous thing.

Dangerous I ſay, not for the ſtrength of reaſon, nor for the bitterneſs neither; for the very extremity of malice in that Book makes it weak in reaſon, as it is the natural effect of pride and choler to enervate the judgement, and take reaſon off the hooks. But that which makes the Book dangerous, is the unparallell'd boldneſs and preſumptuouſneſs of the attempt. Could we believe, but that we ſee it, that in England, *where the Law gives no Toleration to the Romiſh Religion, a Papiſt durſt appear in Print, with his and his Printers name to the Book, to tax not only the Proteſtant Reformers, but the very Reformation of Rebellion and High Treaſon? Put among* Luthers *crimes, That*

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he preached againſt the Tyrannie and Superiority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, and perſwaded the people not to render him any Obedience. *Call the Reformation the New Goſpel, Excuſe* Mariana, *and juſtifie the Jeſuites, againſt thoſe that charge them with the Doctrine of King-killing; Cry down Proteſtants, as perſons not to be truſted with any part of the Government of the State, or ſuffered to live in any Commonwealth; Beſtow upon them the moſt contumelious termes that he could deviſe, Traytors, Diabolical, Cockatrices, Infernal Spirits, are the mildeſt words that he giveth them.* Pag. 73. & 74.

It is a ſilly colour to his malice to name them always Proteſtants of Integrity, *as if he meant a different ſort from other Proteſtants; whereas under that name he perſecuteth all the Reformed Chriſtians of* Europe, *following them from Countrey to Countrey. And although he durſt not ſo openly rail againſt the Engliſh Reformers, yet can he not abſtain to tax them of Rebellion under Queen* Mary, *ſaying moſt falſely, That there was more Rebellions in her poor five years, then in the forty four of Queen* Elizabeth; *thereby to ſhew, that the Roman Catholicks are the far more loyal ſubjects.* In his pa. 109. his vizard falls down and he ſaith openly, *Theſe rebel doctrines are backt by the generality of thoſe that call themſelves Proteſtants.* pag. 71.

But that which goes beyond all examples of the moſt

moſt ſuperlative impudence, that moſt virulent Libel againſt the Proteſtants of Integrity, which is the Religion profeſs'd in England, *he makes bold to recommend to the Protection of that Eminent and Vertuous Prelate, now our moſt Reverend Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *then the ſecond Eccleſiaſtical Perſon of all the Province, and Preſident of the Convocation.*

I pray Sir Philopapa *(for* Philanax Anglicus *is too good a Title for you) do you know who you ſpeak to? Do you think what you ſay? Do you remember where you are?* In qua tandem Civitate Catilina, arbitraris te vivere? *Do you think you are at* Rome *or* Madrid, *where you may bring, as you do, all Proteſtants to the Inquiſition? Or do you hope that our loyal Clergie will miſtake you for one of their ſide, becauſe you rail againſt* Knox *and* Buchanan, *and make ſome profeſſion of Obedience, and declame againſt the late rebellion? And when they know you once for the man you are, do you preſume that you can make them forget what Sovereigne you are ſworn unto, and what power the Pope claims over all Kingdoms, and what particular Title he pretends to* England *and* Ireland?

Certainly Sir Philopapa *(for the Pope is the King*

King you love, and whoſe Intereſt you promote among our Kings Subjects) I hope you ſhall finde that your loud cryes at my Lords Grace of Canterbury's *door, for the putting down of all Proteſtants of Integrity, will prove as improper and unſeaſonable, as if you proclaimed at the Court gates the Ordinance of the Rebels Parliament for putting down Monarchy; and that you ſhall be helped with ſome perſonal intereſt to increaſe your hatred againſt the Proteſtants of Integrity: for ſuch ſhall you finde the Kings Majeſty, his Council, his Parliament, the pious Fathers of the Church, and the wiſe Judges of the Land. Could you not content your ſelf to enjoy quietly your Sovereigns Clemency and forbearance, but you muſt defame in Print all that are not of your gang, which are no leſs then the King and the State? From their Juſtice nothing can ſecure you but your obſcurity. But while you take an order that your perſon may lye undiſcovered, I will make bold to diſcover ſome of your Impoſtures: All I cannot, neither is it material; for all that I need to do to provide an antidote againſt your poiſon, is to do two things: The one, to wipe off the aſperſions of Rebellion which you caſt upon the holy Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches. The other, to bring to*

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the Bar the true Rebels; which will be no recrimination, but aſſerting the Pope in his ancient known poſſeſſion, of being the grand Patron and Architect of Rebellion of ſubjects againſt their Sovereignes, and the eſpecial director of high Treaſon againſt the Kings of England.

Before I look to the body of his Book, ſomthing muſt be ſaid of his Epiſtle and Prefaces. His Epiſtle is addreſſed to no leſs then the Right Reverend Father in God, *Gilbert* Lord Biſhop of *London, and* Dean of His Majeſties Chappel Royal, *ſince deſervedly promoted to the higheſt Dignity of the Church of* England. *A great Honour to his Book. How far the great Patron which he chuſeth is honoured with that Dedication, and the due praiſes which he payeth unto him, is obvious to any ordinary underſtanding. Praiſe at the beſt is* κέρη δόσις ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ, but a light gift to a wiſe man. *And ſince* praiſe *hath its price from the* praiſer, *that eminent Prelate is little obliged to this Gentlemans praiſes, who juſtifies in his Book what he is, and what he aimes at. It is praiſing him with a vengeance, to take him for a Protector of his miſchievous attempt.*

Seneca. Sit tibi tam turpe laudari a turpibus quam ſi lauderis ob turpia.

Τὸν αὐτὸν αἰνεῖν καὶ ψέγειν ἀνδρὶ κακόν.

He hath more obliged our late moſt Reverend Arch-

Archbiſhop Juxon, *now a glorious Saint in heaven, whom he hath not ſpared to blame, though he doth not name him, but he points at him with his finger: And then tells My Lord of* London, From all theſe vanities, your Lordſhips known Innocency and Piety hath alwayes defended you; *ſcientifically inferring, that Innocency and Piety is inconſiſtent with the Character which he had given of that great Prelate. Could this Epiſtles be ſo ſenſeleſs as to expect thanks from a Biſhop of* London, *for raiſing his commendation upon the diſgrace of his Metropolitan? What needed he to go ſo far out of his ſubject to bring in that malicious exception? For the blame of the one adds nothing to the praiſe of the other. Does he not ſhew his hatred againſt Proteſtant Prelates, which he could not but expreſs, even when he took one of them for his Patron? And no wonder that a Jeſuite ſhould maligne an Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *ſeeing the Jeſuites had no greater enemies then thoſe that ſate in that See. That which he findes amiſs in that rarely accompliſhed Prelate, is commended in him by wiſe men, his laudable curioſity, fit for a great* Naturaliſt, *as he was; to keep ſeveral ſorts of Animals about his houſe, as* Ariſtotle *did before him: Their Nature and Incli-*

nations he would obſerve with a judicious eye, and ſpeak of them pertinently and delightfully. Of theſe Natural Lectures he was pleaſed to make me hearer ſeveral times, and to imploy me to finde him Books of that ſubject. So ſerious were his Recreations, when he would unbend, among thoſe whom he honoured with his Diſcourſes and Table, after his great Imployments about the Government of Church and State.

As that great perſon's known Piety *and* Innocency *cannot be blaſted by ſuch a weak enemy as this Jeſuite, ſo it needs not be defended by ſuch a weak Champion as I am. His admired Vertue ſhines in an Orb elevated far above the reach of the barking of envie; and if he needed the approbation of any under God, he had a Royal Teſtimony, when his late Majeſty, our glorious Saint and Martyr had ſo much confidence in his Piety and Innocency, and together in his Wiſdome and Courage, that of all his Divines he choſe him for his ſecond, when he was to encounter the terrors of a violent and ignominious death: And by the excellent uſe which he made of his godly counſel in the retirement of his laſt devotions, he ended his combates in a victorious death over all his enemies ſpiritual and temporal, and yeilded his great*

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ſoul unto God with joy and comfort. For one thing this Jeſuite and his confreres had great reaſon to hate that godly Prelate; That after His Majeſty had ſpoken many divine words upon the Scaffold, he put him in minde to make a profeſſion of his Religion; which he did, and profeſsed before God and the world, that he dyed a Proteſtant according to the Religion eſtabliſhed by Law in the Church of England. *A profeſſion which gave great diſcontent to the Papiſts and the Fanaticks, for both wiſh'd that he had dyed a Papiſt indeed.*

It is known with what calmneſs of ſpirit, prudence, and magnanimity, that vertuous Prelate went through the tryals which he was put to after the Kings death; for he was as wiſe as a ſerpent, though as harmleſs as a dove: And among his many Vertues, he was a great Maſter of two, which ſeldome meet together, a ſingular and Moſes-*like meekneſs, and an invincible conſtancy. They that have known him moderating in the Univerſity, and have ſeen him ſince acting in the greateſt buſineſses of the Kingdome, admire the readineſs and ſolidity of his judgement, fitted alike for ſpeculation and action, and in both excellent. His dexterity and patience, overcoming the moſt difficult affairs. His ſincerity in de-*

claring himſelf without Complements, and his fidelity in keeping his promiſes without wavering, were very remote from the imputation of vanity, *which this enemy would faſten upon the reputation of that truly great and good man. I cannot leave, I cannot part from the mention of him, without that reverend and affectionate expreſſion of the Jews when they ſpeak of their vertuous friends departed,* זכרונו לברכה Let his memory be bleſſed, *for ſo his ſoul is in heaven, for all the good he hath done in earth to ſo many, and to me for one, for to his Graces goodneſs, next to God, I owe the greateſt part of my well-being.*

To return to our Adverſary; Many things in his Epiſtle and Preface ſhew him to be an Adverſary indeed to the whole Proteſtant party, and a ſworn ſlave to the Court of Rome. *But as he takes no pains to prove any thing, but that all Proteſtants are Rebels by their Religion, I will not take the pains to diſprove any thing elſe.*

All his Preface is verba & voces; *Moralities far from his purpoſe, interlarded with invectives without ground. For who are thoſe* that will do no good works for fear of meriting by them? *And where are thoſe* Proteſtants among whom dulneſs and heavineſs of ſpirit is taken up as a practiſe? *A*

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character more befitting Monaſtical devotion. God fetcheth light out of darkneſs; but it is the Devils work to fetch darkneſs out of light. This man labours to do the ſame, Sententias loquitur carnifex. *But he goeth untowardly to work: For he pulls his doctrines by the hair to bring them to his uſes. It ſeems the man had made ſome petty declamations when he was a Grammar Scholar, in a broken boyiſh ſtyle, made up of a thouſand ſtollen ſhreds: And now, leſt theſe pieces of wit ſhould periſh, he brings them in by head and ſhoulders to decide controverſies in points not controverted. For to his ſilly commendations of* devotion *and* humility, *one may ſay as that King to him that would commend* Hector *in his preſence,* Quis vero illas vituperat? *What need you ſpeak for theſe Vertues, when no body ſpeaks againſt them? And what are theſe declamations to the matter in hand?*

To give a taſte of his learning in Greek, he tranſlates πραχθὺ ἀλογον an eloquent Oration.

He calls St. Auſtin the Oracle of the Latine Church; *But he never belonged to it, but to the* African.

And for a taſt of his wit and eloquence, barking at the Moon, *he ſaith to be* the Divinity of Dogs.

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This is of the ſame kinde, The bleſſed eyes of Bats they have to mock at the greateſt lights. *But if the Bats mockt at the great light, they would outface it, whereas they hide themſelves from it.*

One more of theſe impertinencies out of the body of the book. He gives *theſe commendations to our late excellent King*, a Prince as wiſe as *Apollo*, valiant as *Achilles*, vertuous as *Socrates*, pious as *Æneas*, and beautiful as an *Amazon. O brave boy! Well declamed for a Scholar of the ſecond Form! See what comes by being bred in the Colledges of the Jeſuites of* Flanders; *for ſuch a gallant ſtrain of Oratory could never have been learned in the Schools of* Weſtminſter *or* Eaton. *Yet me-thinks the firſt and the laſt of theſe compariſons, have a reach quite beyond common ſenſe. Will he call holy King* Charles a Prince as wiſe as *Apollo? It is a fit parallel for* Julian *the Apoſtate. Had he no better compariſon for that Saint then a Pagan God and a Devil, who by reaſon of the uncertainty of his Oracles, was called* λοξίας crooked and winding *: How doth that fit ſuch a pattern of Chriſtian and Royal ingenuity, ſo ſincere in his words, ſo real in his actions? The laſt parallel is as incongruous as the firſt, He calls the King* as beautiful as an *Amazon. Where hath this*

pag. 57. & 58.

There wanted no more but *animo prudens, ut Homerus*; as it is upon the Tombe of Richard the II.

Antiquary

Antiquary found thoſe viragines *the Amazons with their right breaſt burnt, ſet out as Paragons of beauty? And though they had been ſuch, Is a womans beauty fit to expreſs the majeſtical preſence of a King? How do theſe two compariſons ſuit with the ſubject, and one with another?*

Velut ægri ſomnia vanæ
Finguntur ſpecies, ut nec pes nec caput uni
Reddatur formæ.

This writer affords more occaſions to make ſport with him by his ignorance, but more by his blind choler; then which there is nothing that diſarmeth a man more, and expoſeth him more to be a laughing ſtock. Such another Pierochol *and* Cacafuego *I never met with, His ſtyle is a continual caſting of firebrands, and firing of Granado's to ſcatter among the Proteſtants in all the corners of the world. What would become of the Ship of this Church, if theſe men ruled upon the Deck, and were maſters of the Stern and the Sayls, ſeeing they are ſo ſwaggering now they lye under the Hatches?*

Let the Author of the book keep himſelf there for me, and remain unknown. The publiſher will not acknowledge himſelf to be the Father, but only the Godfather; although the Epiſtle, Preface, and Book, look

like

like three brats of one venter. We need not queſtion who is the father, ſince the godfather anſwereth for the childe.

Neither is it more material to ſearch into the occaſion of the writing of the book, which he ſaith to be a Letter from a Proteſtant of integrity, in anſwer to a letter from a perſon of quality. *Theſe letters I never ſaw: But if that Proteſtant of integrity will have the* Presbyterians conformable to the Church of England in Eccleſiaſticks, *as the Epiſtle ſeems to intimate, we are of his minde; neither is any more required of the Presbyterians for the bleſſed work of concord, and for the comfort of their Proteſtant brethren, and their own.*

The Title of Philanax Anglicus, *whereby the Author makes a profeſſion to love the King, is his paſſport into the patience of the Reader: And he makes of it a Fort, under the ſhelter of which he thinks he may boldly ſhoot upon whom he pleaſeth to take for his mark. But what advantage this* lover of the King *alloweth to him, is much like the gift of Juglers; his Majeſty may hold it faſt, and finde nothing in his hand, as we ſhall ſee afterwards.*

CHAP.

A Vindication of the Proteſtant Religion in the point of obedience to Sovereigns; oppoſed to the doctrine of Rebellion, authorized and practiſed by the Pope and the Jeſuits. In anſwer to a Jeſuitical Libel, intituled, Philanax Anglicus.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Objections out of the Books of Proteſtant Writers.

THE Book of this Adverſary conſiſting of ſtale Objections, which have been a thouſand times anſwered, would put me and any man that would anſwer him to the unavoidable neceſſity of ſaying over many things that were ſaid before; but that all his Objections may be reduced into one, and therefore one anſwer will ſerve for them all.

For from the beginning to the end, he objects unto us ſome paſſages out of Proteſtant Writers which ſavour of diſobedience, as he dreſſeth them, and ſome faults in that kinde of thoſe that have embraced the Proteſtant party: whence he inferreth, That both the Doctrine and the Practiſe of Reformed Religion is Rebellion. He labours eſpecially to pick faults in the firſt Re-

formers; but coming ſhort of his end, he quarrelleth with others that came long ſince the Reformation.

But though he had brought the Reformers to plead guilty, he hath done nothing againſt us; For to all theſe allegations we anſwer, that our Belief depends not upon the doctrine of any particular perſon or perſons, much leſs upon their actions. But that to know the true belief of our Churches, one muſt look upon their publick Confeſſions of Faith.

The Law was received by the diſpoſition of Angels, ſaith St. *Steven*, Act. 7.53. and ſo was the Goſpel. But thoſe whom God uſed to draw his Church out of the abuſes of Popery were not Angels but men, whom we hold not to have been infallible. Wherefore if one alledge to the Engliſh Churches ſome hard Sayings of perſons that had a hand in the Reformation, to the Germane Churches of *Luther*, to the Helvetian of *Zwinglius*; they will anſwer, They were men. They are not the Pillars of our Faith. Since thoſe men have laid open the Holy Scripture before us which was ſhut up before, it is no more for their word that we believe, for our ſelves have ſeen the ſaving Truth of God, and upon that we are built.

But that the faults of men may not be imployed or received to give a prejudice againſt the Doctrine of God, I deſire all judicious and ſober minded to conſider, that in the midſt of the Romiſh darkneſs it was not to be expected that the ſaving light of Gods truth, and the Apoſtolical Government of the Church ſhould be diſcovered upon a ſudden by any man, completely & with all its parts. As *Rome* was not built in one day, no more was

Sion.

sion. Many were great helpers towards the knowledge of the truth, who were themſelves very ſhort of it, and nevertheleſs ought to be reverently remembred by us for doing more then was to be expected in that Age. Such were the *Waldenſes*; ſuch was *Wiclef*, ſuch was *John Hus*, men too ſeverely cenſured by ſome of us as not thoroughly principled in many points of Religion. But how much truth did they diſcover? How much ſaving Doctrine did they bring forth? What laſting ſeeds of Reformation did they ſow, which lying buried for ſome Ages, ſprung forth, and had a happy growth to a greater perfection in the age of our Fathers? Truly, although the announcing of the Goſpel by the Angels be called *the Day-ſpring from on high*, becauſe that light at Chriſts coming brake forth as it were from the Meridian, not from the Horizon, and was full at its very riſing; we are not to expect at every return of that light after a long night that there ſhall be no difference between break of Day and Noon. No; the Truth is compared unto *a Light ſhining in a dark place untill the day dawn and the Day-Starr ariſe.* In theſe laſt Ages of the world, after a long darkneſs, the Sun of Truth did riſe by little and little. It ſhone at the firſt with much fogg about it and caſt long ſhades. And we have reaſon to acknowledge with thankfulneſs and admiration, that among thoſe ſhades ſo much ſaving Light did ſhine as inlightened the underſtanding and comforted the conſcience with the myſtery of Gods reconciliation with men in Jeſus Chriſt through faith and repentance, which is the main ſubſtance of Religion. For Grace as Nature, begins with the noble parts, which are

Luk. 1. 78.

2 Pet. 1. 19.

perfectioned long before the outward be finiſht.

Although I reverence very much the memory of thoſe that were raiſed by God to diſcover the errours of the Court of *Rome*, I will not juſtifie their errours, if they had any, nor all the words and writings of them that came after, and brought their Work to a greater perfection. To compaſs that great work among the higheſt contradiction, and againſt the current of cuſtome, if men of ſtout ſpirits (and there was need of ſuch) had let fall from their mouth or pen ſome leſs reverend expreſſions then duty required concerning the ſuperiour powers that oppoſed them, none needs wonder at it, and yet none needs to juſtifie it, and we are very far from it. But though they had ſpoken treaſon, it caſts no blur upon our profeſſion, which is expreſt in our publick confeſſions. Neither do we acknowledge any private man to be the warrant of our faith.

I may then ſave my labour in examining whether our Adverſary hath faithfully alledged the writings of Proteſtant Divines, and truly repreſented their opinions, ſince their opinions are not our rule. And yet ſo much we will ſay for them, that thoſe very men whoſe opinions their Adverſaries miſrepreſent unto the world, were the Writers and Compoſers of thoſe Confeſſions of Faith which were ſubſcribed unto, and acknowledged by the National Churches as the publick Declarations of their belief. Which Confeſſions are ſo full and pregnant in aſſerting the obedience of ſubjects unto their Sovereigns (as I will demonſtrate, God willing, in the third Chapter of this Treatiſe) that the greateſt Adverſaries find little to ſay againſt it. And our Adverſary (to whom his Par-

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ty owes this commendation, that he hath carefully collected and epitomized all the objections made againſt us about the point of Obedience) paſſeth by our Confeſſions of faith as being without the reach of his exceptions. Onely he nibbleth a little at the 39. Article of the *French* Confeſſion, which is this; *We affirm that Laws are to be obeyed, tributes to be paid, and the yoke of ſubjection to be born, although the Magiſtrates be infidels.* Thus far excellent well, ſaith the Adverſary, but that which follows ſpoils all in his opinion. *The Sovereign Empire of God remaining alwaies entire*, Why? *here is a gallant latitude* (ſaith he) *for diſobedience and rebellion.* But no ſuch latitude is left by the Article. All that good reaſon can infer out of it, is, that we muſt obey the Magiſtrates as long as we may do it without diſobeying God. There is great difference between not obeying and rebelling.

I ſee nothing elſe bearing the ſtamp of publick conſent of any National Church among Proteſtants that this man excepts againſt in the point of obedience. For his invective againſt the *Geneva* Bible, is a wilfull miſtake. Some *Engliſh* exiles at *Geneva* printed there a Bible; An Edition juſtly diſcredited by a Note in the Margin, 2 *Chron.* 5. 16. upon that *Aſa* put by his mother *Maacha* from the government for her idolatry. And the annotation ſaith, that he ſhould not onely have depoſed her, but killed her. Which impious Paradox this Gentleman imputeth *to the whole Congregation of thoſe Proteſtants of integrity*, as he calls us, becauſe, ſaith he, *their holy* Geneva *Bible is admitted by their whole Kirk*; which we deny. No *Engliſh* Tranſlation of the Bible is authentical

to be read in Churches, but that which was made by the commandement of King JAMES of glorious memory. Neither was that *Geneva* Bible translated or received by publick authority. Neither is *Geneva* more to be taxed for it, then *London* for printing the wicked libel which I am now confuting, both being printed without Licence. That, Note, put in by some Fanatick, is rejected by all Protestants, and the generality must not be charged with a private mans folly.

Although I answer not for any private man, yet that the Reader may judge what credit he may give to this Gentlemans allegations. I have set down here a sample of his unsincerity in his alledging of *Luther*. He sets down three passages taken, as he saith, out of *Luther*'s Treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*. The first *cap. De Sacramento Baptismi. Ab omnibus hominum legibus exempti sumus libertate Christiana nobis per Baptismum donata*; that is, *We are freed from all humane Laws by the Christian liberty given to us by Baptisme.*

Pag. 82, and 83.

I made use of the Edition of Iena An. 1600 tom. 2. omnium operum D. Mart. Lutheri,

I may confidently affirm that these words are not to be found either in that Chapter, or in the whole Treatise. And if the Reader will be so inquisitive as to look upon the place, he shall find it so. There *Luther* complains of the ceremonies wherewith the Pope hath clogged the Sacrament of Baptisme, and maintaineth that neither Bishop, nor Pope, nor Angel hath power to impose such humane additions upon the conscience of Christians to be obeyed as Laws. And yet if they be imposed he will have Christians to bear with them, keeping still to themselves that liberty of conscience to remember, that such things are wrongfully imposed, and taking heed

heed either to juſtifie the tyranny, or to murmure againſt it. This is the ſenſe of the whole diſcourſe of *Luther*. But he ſaith no where *that the Chriſtian liberty given to us by Baptiſme, exempts us from the Laws of men.* This is a meer fiction.

So is his ſecond allegation out of the ſame book, *cap. de Matrimonio. Scio nullam Remp. Legibus feliciter adminiſtrari.* He makes *Luther* ſay, *I know that no State is happily governed by Lawes:* but there is not one word of that in the whole Chapter of Matrimony, nor in the whole Treatiſe.

And *Luthers* opinion was as farr from that Tenet as the Eaſt is from the Weſt, and the Pope and his Conclave from Chriſt and his Apoſtles. Shall we wonder that the Pope alters the *words* of Scripture making the Text ſay, *ſhe ſhall bruiſe thy heel*, in ſtead of *he*, to tranſfer the victory of Chriſt over the Devil unto Chriſts Mother; or that he giveth to Scripture a contrary *ſenſe*, turning *Feed my ſheep* into *Depoſe Kings, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms?* when ſuch men as our Adverſary take upon them to forge what *words* and *ſenſe* they will, and to father them upon whom they pleaſe?

Quid Domini facient audent cum talia fures?

The third allegation is out of the Chapter *de Ordine* in the ſame Treatiſe; the words, as our Adverſary recites them, are theſe, *Turpe enim eſt, & iniquiter ſervile Chriſtianum hominem qui liber eſt aliis quam cœleſtibus & divinis legibus ſubjectum eſſe*; that is, *It is a foul thing, and wickedly ſervile, that a Chriſtian man who is free, ſhould be ſubject to any other but the divine and heaven-*

venly laws. But this Gentleman, or he from whom he hath borrowed theſe allegations, hath baſely corrupted and falſified this paſſage, putting *legibus* in ſtead of *traditionibus*, which alters the ſenſe altogether, and changeth the queſtion: for *Luther* diſputeth againſt impoſing unneceſſary traditions in Religion, as neceſſary to ſalvation, and would not have a Chriſtian to ſubject himſelf in that kind to any *tradition*, but ſuch as are divine and heavenly. But this corrupter repreſents him as refuſing ſubjection to civil laws and temporal powers. Can there be a more ungodly and odious impoſture? And how doth this mans inference follow upon *Luther*'s diſcourſe? *So that it is moſt plain* (ſaith he) *that it was not* Luther's *deſign onely to pull down Monarchy, but all other kinds of civil Government, and to extirpate all humane laws.* Certainly that inference depends no more upon *Luther*'s diſcourſe, then the new ſtars of *Galilee* upon the Aphoriſms of *Hippocrates.*

It is a good ſport to ſee how incenſed this Gentleman is againſt *Luther* for exhorting Kings and Princes to fall upon the Pope and his Cardinals, and to fulfill the Prophecy of *Rev.* 17. That the Kings of the earth ſhall ſtrip the great harlot naked, devour her ſelf, and burn her with fire. Which he exagerates as high treaſon, becauſe he acknowledgeth the Pope for his Sovereign, and the King of kings, whom none can reſiſt or call to account without incurring the crime of Rebellion.

For his other allegations againſt *Luther*, he ſhall not have the luck to be believed upon his word, after I have laid open his infidelity in that kind. He that hath leiſure or curioſity enough, may ſearch the places and examine

mine whether they be true or falſe, neither of which concerns us. Yet a judicious view of the affairs of *Germany* at that time, and of the nature of Sovereignty and Subjection in the Empire, of which I intend to ſay ſomething in the next Chapter, which will make his hardeſt expreſſions to ſeem leſs ſtrange.

It is certain that he writ againſt King *Henry* the VIII. moſt slovenly. Yet obſerve, that *Henry* the VIII. was not his King. That he ſaid nothing againſt the obedience due to him by his ſubjects, and that he made amends to the King ſince, and cryed *Peccavi*. He was then leſs to blame then the Jeſuite *Sander*, who called the ſame King (his natural Prince) *another* Mahomet, *the root of ſin, and a moſt impious and ſacrilegious Tyrant*, and Queen *Elizabeth Lupam Anglicanam*, *the Engliſh Wolf-bitch*, and made them no amends for it. Sander. lib. de Schiſmate Angliceano.

This teſtimony cannot be denied to *Luther*, that he oppoſed rebellion moſt vigorously; as it may be ſeen in his Epiſtle to the Boors that roſe in arms, and by his Sermon in the Camp, both pregnant for the obedience of ſubjects to their Princes; of which *Sleidan* giveth a faithfull account, a better Authour then our Adverſary, or *Cochlæus Luther*'s enemy. Sleidan. lib. 5. ad an. 1525. Id. lib. 14. ad an. 1542.

The firſt and greateſt inſtrument of the *Helvetian* Reformation was *Zuinglius*, out of whoſe books the Adverſary picks ſome paſſages to exhort the *Switzers* and *Germans* to defend their Religion againſt the Emperour. If there had been no quarrel of Religion at that time, yet he would have exhorted them to ſtand for their liberties againſt the Emperour. For the *Switzers* having ſhaken off the yoke of the Empire two hundred

years before. It is no marvel that *Zuinglius* was not carefull to exhort his Countreymen and neighbours to obedience to the Emperour, the perpetual underminer of the State which he lived in.

Obſerve that the Authours that write of the power of Princes, and of the duty of ſubjects, determine it according to the form of the States in which they live: and ſo no wonder that *Zuinglius* a *Switzer* acknowledgeth no ſucceſſive power, but conceiveth all Princes to be eligible and depoſable by the Commonwealth. And that *Calvin* and *Beza* living in an Ariſtocratical State, ſhewed alſo in their Writings more inclination towards that kind of Government. So the *German* and *Italian* Writers are for a mixt and much limitted Government. The *Engliſh* and *French* for Monarchy, with certain Laws. And if the *Turks* and *Muſcovites* could make Books, they would write for the Deſpotical and unlimitted power.

Pag. 105. Melancton in Epit. Moral. Philoſ. Id. in lib. de Conſil. Evangelicis.

Our Adverſary layeth a heavy charge upon *Melanchton*, that he ſhould ſay that *the inferiour Magiſtrates may cut the throats of the ſuperiour, and all this for reforming Religion*: for which he referreth us to two of his Books, without quoting the particular place; much like the direction of the Goodwifes Letter, *To my Husband dwelling at the wars*. But no ſuch thing ſhall be found in all *Melanchton*'s Works. Neither is it ſuitable to the ſpirit of that wiſe and meek man.

For *Calvin*, by reaſon of his Ariſtocratical Doctrine about the Tribunitian power of the *tres ordines regni* over the King: I would leave him for ſuch as he is; but that it is my proper buſineſs at this time to diſcover the impoſture of my Adverſary, and he hath committed a

ſignal one againſt *Calvin*, whom he hath ſerved juſt as he did *Luther* before. For he brings him upon the Stage,

----Lacerum crudeliter ora,
Ora manusque ambas.----

as he did the other, miſerably torn and disfigured.

Speaking of *oaths which bind us to obſerve and obey the King*, he ſaith, that *to all oaths of this nature Mr.* Calvin *from his high Cathedral and Conſiſtorial Tribunal gives this abſolution*; *Quibuscunque hujus Evangelii lux affulget*, &c. *ab omnibus laqueis & juramentis abſolvitur.* I cannot make good *Engliſh* of falſe *Latine*, of which *Calvin* is not guilty, but it is as familiar with this Gentleman as falſe Doctrine. His meaning is to make *Calvin* ſay, that when a man is inlightened with the Goſpel of *Geneva*, he is free from all oathes to his Sovereign; for it is of *all oathes of that nature* that he makes *Mr.* Calvin *to give abſolution.* But there is a ſwarm of corruptions in that allegation. The words of *Calvin* are theſe. *Quibuscunque ergo Chriſtus Evangelii ſui luce affulget, non dubium eſt quin ab omnibus eos laqueis expediat quibus ſe per ſuperſtitionem induerant*; that is, *As many then as Chriſt illuminateth with the light of his Goſpel, no doubt but he ſets them free from the ſnares into which they had ingaged themſelves by ſuperſtition.* Without inſiſting upon

Pag. 103.

Calvin. l. 4. *Inſt. c.* 13. *ſect.* 21. Qui ex Monachiſmo ad honeſtum aliquod vivendi genus concedunt, fractæ fidei & perjurii graviter accuſantur, quod vinculum (ut vulgo creditur) inſolubile quo erant Deo & Eccleſiæ obligati abruperint. At ego nullum fuiſſe vinculum dico, ubi quod homo confirmat Deus abrogat. Deinde ut demus fuiſſe obligatos quù ignoratione Dei & errore impliciti venerentur nunc poſtquâ veritatis notitiâ ſunt illuminati, ſimul Chriſti gratia liberos eſſe dico. Nam ſi tantam efficaciam habet crux Chriſti ut à Legis divinæ maledictione quâ vincti detinebamur nos abſolvat, quanto magis ab extraneis vinculis (quæ nihil ſunt quam captioſa Satanæ retia) nos eruet. Quibuscunq; ergo Chriſtus luce Evangelii ſui affulget, non dubium eſt quin ab omnibus eos laqueis expediat quibus ſe per ſuperſtitionem induerant.

all the words which he changeth, or addeth, or leaveth out. He altereth *Calvin's* queſtion, whoſe diſcourſe I have therefore ſet in the Margin, that the Reader may ſee that he ſpeaks of Monaſtical vows, which he affirms to be void, when by the light of the Goſpel they appear to be contrary to the Chriſtian liberty purchaſed by Chriſt unto his Church. Whereas this Gentleman makes uſe of that paſſage to make *Calvin* abſolve ſubjects of their allegiance to their Sovereigns. Where is conſcience? Where is ſincerity? Will Jeſuites uſe ſuch pious frauds to make proſelytes? *Habeat jam Roma pudorem.*

I cannot pardon this Gentleman his prevarication about *Calvin*, though I ſhould make a digreſſion for it; for is it not good ſport to ſee him defend *Calvin* when he takes upon him to defame him? For having accuſed *Calvin* of Delicacy and Epicureiſme in his behaviour, he brings for a witneſs *Florimond de Remond, a Gentleman of quality, who hath left us* (ſaith he) *the lively image of him.* And when upon that I would ſee what lively image *Florimond de Remond* left us of him, I found that he giveth this account of his life. Calvin *from his youth did macerate his body with faſting; whither it was to preſerve his health, and by that abſtinence diſſipate the fumes of meagrom wherewith he was afflicted, or that he might thereby be the more free to write, ſtudy, and exerciſe his memory. The truth is, that hardly could a man be found that equalled* Calvin *in laborioufneſs. For twenty three years that he lived at* Geneva, *he preacht every day, and many times twice upon* Sundays: *every week he made publick leſſons of Divinity, and every Friday*

Pag. 7.

Florimundus Raymundus Hiſtoriæ de nativ. Hær. &c. lib. 7. cap. 10.

day he was preſent at the Colloquy or Conference of Paſtors which they call Congregation. The reſt of his time he imployed in writing Books, or anſwering letters of divers perſons.

Well, Sir Jeſuite, do you tax *Calvin* of Epicureiſme after your confreres, and bring convincing proofs againſt it? What diſcipline muſt ye expect from your Superiours at *Douay* for thus betraying their cauſe? It is well if you can ſcape the Chamber of Meditations. In the mean while all *thoſe ſerpentine* Geneva *Rabbins*, *that conquering Legion of the right cockatrice kind*, againſt whom you rail ſo emphatically, will give you thanks for your real help. These are his words Pag. 48, and 49.

The Adverſary having done with *Calvin*, falls upon *Beza*, a man for whom I am leſs partial then for any of the Reformed Divines, herein heir of my Reverend Fathers dislike of him for daſhing the fair hopes of agreement in Religion in the Colloquy of *Poiſſy* by his immoderate behaviour. But to lay a charge upon *Beza*'s Doctrine about the point of the authority of Kings, and obedience of ſubjects, he ſhould have taken allegations out of *Beza*'s undoubted Writings, not out of pieces without name, aſcribed to him by his enemies. Such is *Euſebius Philadelphus*: Such is the treatiſe *de jure Magiſtratus*, which this very Adverſary ſaith to be aſcribed by ſome to *Hottoman*. Such is alſo *Junius Brutus*; concerning whom we ſtand to the Oracle of our Engliſh *Solomon* King JAMES in his *Defenſe of the right of Kings* againſt Cardinal *Perron*. Junius Brutus, *when he objects unto us, is an unknown*

Authour, and perhaps ſome of the Roman Church hath made it to make Proteſtants odious unto Princes. The conjectures of that great King are more certain then the affirmations of the Jeſuites.

As for *Beza*'s ſiding with the Princes of the bloud that were in armes againſt the Court, which our Adverſary objects unto him, and proveth it by ſome letters of his, and the teſtimony of *Baldwin* his enemy; the quality of that charge depends upon the nature of that quarrel, of which ſomething muſt be ſaid before he and I part.

For *Paræus*, we are againſt him about the point of obedience as much as our Adverſary. His ſon ſeeing what general oppoſition his Doctrine found among the Proteſtants, and that the Book was burnt in *England* by authority, made this excuſe for his father, *Valeat quantum valere poteſt; My father ſpeaks with the Politicks and Iuriſconſults, not of a King inveſted with abſolute power, but admitted upon conditions.* *Paræus* conſiderd not how the world was abroad, but how it was in his countrey.

Philip. Paræus Append. ad Rom. 13. Loquitur D. parens meus cum Politicis & Iuris-conſultis non de Rege abſoluta poteſtate induto, ſed ſub conditione admiſſo. Pag. 23.

The Adverſary quarrelleth alſo with *Gracerus*, but hath nothing elſe to ſay againſt him, but that he is againſt the Antichriſt. *Coercenda gladio eſt Antichriſti ambitio*, which he expounds thus, *That Antichriſtian ambition is to be cut off with the ſword, that is, all Princes and Prelates.* It ſeems the man taketh part with Antichriſt ſince he taxeth *Gracerus* for being againſt him. But that *Gracerus* would cut off Princes and Prelates becauſe he would repreſs the ambition of Antichriſt, is a great

great inconſequence. Obſerve this Gentlemans learning, the Verb *coercere* ſignifieth *repreſs*, which is a modeſt term of *Gracerus*. But our Adverſary translates it *cut off*; ſhewing himſelf to be as great a ſcholar in Latine, as he approved himſelf to be in Greek, when he translated πρακτὴν ἄλογον, *an eloquent Oration.* And that his head is much like that upon a clipt ſixpence, it is a little head without letters.

His objection of the rebellious Maxims of ſome *Scots*, as *Knox* and *Buchanan*, is now ſtale and out of ſeaſon, ſince they have been generally condemned and exploded by Proteſtants both on this and the other ſide of the ſea. The judgement of the learned *Rivet* to this purpoſe is ingenuous and prudent, that theſe things muſt be imputed to the hot and audacious brains of the *Scots*, then heated again by perſecution. Let me adde, that when the perſecution was pretty well overcome, they were kept in their heat by ſharp contention. There being then a Royal Baſtard, who pretending that his Father had once a deſigne to make him King, followed that deſigne very cloſe, yet cloſely, raiſing all the troubles he could againſt the Kings Widow, and his legitimate Heir: for which the difference of Religion happening about that time, gave him fair play; for all his ambitious projects were cloaked with the furtherance of the cauſe of the Goſpel. This was the man that countenanced that divinity of rebellion.

Pag. 47, & ſeq.

Rivet. Caſtiga. Not. in Epiſt. ad Balſac. cap. 13. num. 14. ſub finem.

Which that it may not be imputed to the Religion, I deſire all judicious heads maturely to ponder Dr. *Rivet's* wiſe obſervation; That the *Scots* of a hundred and five Kings, which they reckon till Queen *Mary*, had de-

depoſed three, expelled five, and killed thirty five. I demand then whether all thoſe exceſſes muſt be imputed to the doctrine and zeal of Religion. If ſo, let the *Roman* Catholicks look how they ſhall defend their Religion which then was prevalent. But if that muſt be imputed to the bold and ſtirring Genius of the Nation, why ſhall the troubles riſen under the Queen Regent of *Scotland* and her daughter *Mary* be aſcribed to Religion, and Reformation, ſuppoſed the cauſe, not the occaſion, by the managing of crafty ſelf-ſeeking men, of the diſtempers of the State, and the intemperance of pens? Yea, it ſhall be found, as Dr. *Rivet* obſerveth, (and we find it now) that the light of the Evangelical truth did very much mitigate the fierceneſs of the Nation; and that thoſe diſorders, as turbulent as they were, are not comparable to thoſe that were in former times in *Scotland*: which as we are too ingenuous to aſcribe to the Religion of thoſe dayes, the *Papiſts* ought to ſhew the like ingenuity about the exceſſes of wits and ſwords ſince the coming of the Reformation.

It were to no purpoſe to follow all the objections of this Gentleman out of Proteſtant Writers; ſince whether they be well or ill alledged, our belief is not ingaged in their ill opinions, nor our reputation concerned in the wrong done to them by perverſe and unfaithfull allegations. I have diſcovered ſo many of them, that the Reader may well miſtruſt his other citations. If all were as they are repreſented, they are but ſo many Doctours opinions ſtrengthened with no approbation of perſons authorized for it. And to ſpeak after our Moſt Exeellent *King* JAMES in his *Defenſe of the right of Kings*. *I would*

would not defend all that ſome private men could ſay. It is enough that in our Religion there is no rule to be found that preſcribeth rebellion, nor any thing that diſpenſeth ſubjects from the oath of their allegiance, nor any of our Churches that receive that abominable doctrine.

This is ſpoken with a Royal brevity, and an imperious weight, which both confutes all objections in that kind, and together ſilently retorts upon the *Roman* Catholicks, that among them they have rules that preſcribe rebellion, and an authority diſpenſing from the oath of allegiance, and that their Church is commanded to receive that abominable doctrine.

Bleſſed be God, our doctrine about the point of obedience never gave yet jealouſie to Kings, though of contrary Religion. Whereas the Sovereign Courts of the ſame Princes have expelled the Jeſuites for teaching and practiſing the murther of Kings, and condemned the Popes Bulls to be torn for ſowing rebellion among the people. Is it not a matter for no leſſe patience then that of God, to ſee thoſe that teach rebellion by the publick expreſſe laws of the head of their Church, now to charge our Churches with rebellion for ſome words of private men, either falſly imputed unto them, or diſallowed by the generality of the Proteſtant Churches? Is it for him that hath cut the purſe to cry, ſtop the thief? Muſt the Doctors of high treaſon lay an action of rebellion againſt us, in effect becauſe we will not be rebels with them, and acknowledge a King above our King? for when all is ſaid, that is the ground of the quarrel, and we can buy our peace with them at no other rate. But before I lay the charge againſt them, at which I long to

be, I muſt make an end of anſwering the charge which they lay againſt us.

CHAP. II.

Whether the Reformation of Religion ought to be charged with Rebellion. Reflections upon the actions of the Proteſtant party.

THe Charge of Rebellion which the Adverſary layeth againſt us, conſiſteth in two things, The Doctrine of our Divines and the actions of our party, eſpecially in the beginnings of the Reformation. I have anſwered the firſt part of the Charge, and ſhewed that either the Charge is falſe, or it is nothing to us, becauſe we have no dependance upon the Authors charged with it. To which I will adde but this; That if as much pains was taken to ſet forth all that thoſe very men have written for obedience, as this Gentleman hath taken to make them ſpeak treaſon, it would be farr more in bulk, and more home, then all that the Roman Catholicks have written or dare write of that ſubject.

* pag. 72. *Azor. Moral. Inſtit. parte 1. lib. 8. cap. 13. Eos omnes qui erant hæretico aliqua ratione obſtricti juris jurandi ſeu fidelitatis ſeu alterius pactionis & promiſſionis liberari.*

* Our Adverſary chargeth *Luther*, the firſt Inſtrument in Gods hands for the work of Reformation in *Germany*, that he *was the great Grand-father of the prodigious Doctrines againſt the State, Dignity, and Perſons of Kings and Princes.* Why? Did he rebell againſt his Princes? Did he ſtirr rebellion in other Princes States? Did he teach, as the Jeſuit *Azorius* did ſince, that *all that were tyed with any bond of oath or fidelity, or any other paction or promiſe to an Heretick, were freed of it?* Then, if ever, it was the right time for him to preach that doctrine,

ctrine, if he had approved of it, when Commons and Corporations embraced the Reformation, many of them without the Princes conſent. Nay, he did alwaies labour moſt earneſtly and ſucceſsfully to put down rebellions when any aroſe. What was then his rebellion? Marry, *he preached againſt the tyranny and ſuperiority of the Biſhop of Rome*, ſaith our Adverſary, *and perſwaded the people not to render to him any obedience.* pag. 73, & 74. This was the rebellion, the moſt horrid of all rebellions in the eyes of Jeſuits. I enter not into the queſtion of the Popes ſuperiority. My Adverſary keeping himſelf to matters of fact, I muſt keep my ſelf to it alſo.

Luther was a man of an invincible ſpirit; one that ſpared neither King nor Pope, when the Truth of God which he announced was oppoſed: And in his expreſſions he was εὐθυῤῥήμων, one that ſpake down right without mincing. Yet as ſtout as he was, I find that he behaved himſelf with great modeſty and patience with the Pope for a great while: And in all his Addreſſes to him for redreſs of the horrible abuſes reigning in the Church, he uſed a Chriſtian humility and ſubmiſſion to the Popes pleaſure, if his Holineſs would have hearkened to conſcience and reaſon, and remembred the duty of his place. But when the Pope and the great Clergy of *Germany* uſed him with the utmoſt ſcorn and inhumanity, he paid them in the ſame coin. The Pope burnt his *Theſes*, and he burnt the Popes *Decretals* in the market place; and writ againſt the higheſt of the Roman Clergy in high terms, a crime much exaggerated by our Adverſary. This is all the rebellion (if they call it ſo) that either *Luther* or the beginning of the Reformation

can be charged with. For the Reformation was embraced by many Princes and Imperial Cities ſo freely and ſo quietly, that the Adverſary could finde no ground to object any other rebellion unto them but that againſt the Biſhop of *Rome*, who in effect was neither their Biſhop nor their Prince.

So that which our Adverſary (after others) objects againſt *Luther*, That he exhorted the Emperour, Kings and Princes to *fall upon the Pope and Cardinals, and all the filth of the Roman Sodom*, is nothing to the queſtion in hand. For there *Luther* ſpeaks not of any inſurrection of ſubjects againſt their lawfull Sovereign, but of the juſtice which the Princes of Chriſtian Provinces ought to exerciſe againſt the Tyrants and Corruptors of the Church. He had tryed all means of Piety, Charity, Equity, and Reaſon. When all would not ſerve, and that the Pope and the Cardinals would neither reform the Church nor themſelves, nor admit of an Appeal to the Councel for that great Work, then *Luther* brake out into theſe words: *Mihi verò videtur, ſi ita pergat furor Romaniſtarum, nullum eſſe reliquum remedium quàm ut Imperator, Reges & Principes vi & armis accincti, aggrediantur has peſtes Orbis terrarum, rémque non jam verbis ſed ferro decernant.* That is, *It is my opinion, if the fury of the Romaniſts continue, that there is no remedy remaining but that the Emperour, Kings, and Princes who are furniſht with force and arms, ſhould take theſe plagues of the world in hand, and decide the quarrel no more with words but with the ſword.* And then follow the words written in our margent which are a continuation of his exhortation to the Higher Powers to make uſe

pag. 74. *Luther in Sylveſtriũ Pruratem.* Si fures furcâ, ſi latrones gladio, ſi hæreticos igne plectimus, cur non magis iſtos magiſtros perditionis, hos Cardinales, hos Papas, & totam iſtam Romanæ Sodomæ colluviem quæ Eccleſiam Dei ſine fine corrumpit, omnibus armis impetimus?

uſe againſt them of the ſword of Juſtice. This is better then to ſet on private men to ſtab them, or ſtirr the rabble to fall upon them according to the maxims and practiſe of the Jeſuits. But *Luther* went the right way to work, when he exhorted thoſe to whom God had committed the power of the ſword, to make uſe of it to repreſs the tyranny and oppreſſion both ſpiritual and civil uſed in their Dominions by a foreign uſurped power; and the rather, becauſe the Emperour and the Princes had been very earneſt with the Pope to remove by his Paſtoral care all the cauſes of complaint.

It is objected againſt *Luther* and his party, that they entred into a Confederacy of defenſive arms at *Smalcald*; that *Luther* himſelf made a book *contra duo Mandata Cæſaris*, againſt two Edicts of the Emperour. And that in his book *de bello contra Turcas*, *he denyed the Emperour to be the Head of the Chriſtian Commonwealth*: But to judge aright of that Confederacy, and of the opinions of the German Divines and Lawyers about the Emperours Rights, and of the Warrs of that Age between the Emperour and the Princes of the Empire, we muſt conſider the conſtitution of the Empire of *Germany*. And to that end look to their *Magna Charta* which is *Bulla aurea* made under the Emperour CHARLES IV. and *Capitulatio Cæſarea* anno 1356. Whereby, if the Emperour or the King of the Romans violate any of the Rights of the Subject eſtabliſhed by that Capitulation, It is declared to be lawfull for the Electors,

Melchior Goladaſt Tom.3.pag.424. Quod ſi nos ipſi (inquit Imperator) quod abſit, aut quiſquam Succeſſorum noſtrorum, quod non ſperamus, proceſſu temporis aliquo huic noſtræ ſtatutioni aut ordinationi contravenire voluerit aut eam retractare, aut alio quovis modo violare præſumpſerit, præſentium literarum authoritate & poteſtatis

Princes,

Princes, Prelates, Nobles, and Commons, either jointly or ſeverally, to reſiſt them without crime of Rebellion or Infidelity.

regiæ plenitudine ex certâ Majeſtatis noſtræ ſcientiâ, nec non cum conſenſu & beneplacito præfatorum ſacri Romani Imperii principum Electorum in robur perpetuæ firmitatis ſancivimus, ex tunc tam ipſi Electores quàm cæteri Principes, Eccleſiaſtici & Sæculares, Prælati, Comites, Barones, Nobiles, & Communitates ſacri noſtri Imperii, univerſi ac ſinguli, præſentes & futuri, licitum habeant ſine Rebellionis aut Infidelitatis crimine reſiſtendi ac contradicendi nobis & Succeſſoribus noſtris Romanorum Regibus vel Imperatoribus in perpetuam libertatem.

Three hundred and fifty years before that, a German Pope *Gregory* V. had brought in the Inſtitution of the *Electors*, as the Centuriators of *Magdeburg* report. But *Aventinus* and *Onuphrius* more credibly make it of later date, after the death of *Frederick* II. whom Pope *Innocent* IV. had perſecuted to death; and the Empire being much weakned by the loſs of that great Emperour, to weaken him more yet, either *Innocent* IV. or his Succeſſor *Alexander* III. procured ſeven perpetual Electors, whoſe Intereſt ſhould be to keep alwaies the Emperours low to keep themſelves high. Since that time the Emperours Authority in many parts of *Germany* is little more then a title, and a reſpect without power; for the Electors may both elect and depoſe him. They and the other Princes of the Empire govern their Signories, and pay nothing to him but homage. And the Cities called *Imperial* are they that have the greateſt exemptions from the Imperial Lawes. Wherefore the exclamations of the Adverſaries about the reſiſtance of the Elector of *Saxony*, with other Princes of the Empire, and ſome Imperial Cities againſt the Emperour, and about the words of German Divines or Juriſts to that purpoſe; are very ignorantly or maliciously urged as rebel-

rebellious; for neither the words nor the actions of thoſe *Germans* ought to be weighed in the balance of the duty of other ſubjects to their abſolute Sovereignes.

Luther who was always very rigid for the ſubjection of every ſoul to the higher powers, and had written a book expresly of that ſubject, had much ado to be perſwaded to conſent to a confederacy of defenſive arms againſt the Emperour; who being ſet on by the Court of *Rome*, oppreſſed the liberties of *Germany*; and to ſuppreſs the growing Reformation took more cognizance of caſes belonging to the jurisdiction of the Princes, and cities of the Empire, then he was allowed by the authentical capitulations, till the learned in the Law ſatisfied him about the Statutes of his Countrey, and his reaſon and conſcience ſhewed him, that the Apoſtle commanding Chriſtians to *ſubmit themſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake*, requireth of them an obedience proportioned to the conſtitutions of the States, of which they are members. Of that conſultation *Sleidan* giveth this account.

Before they made the confederacy, they called to counſel, not onely Juriſts, but Divines alſo. For Luther had taught alwayes that the Magiſtrate muſt not be reſiſted, and a book of his concerning that ſubject was extant. But when in that conſultation the learned in law ſhewed that it was permitted

Sleidan. Hiſt. lib. 8. ad an. 1531. Priusquam fœdus iniretur, in conſilium adhibiti ſunt, non Iurisconſulti modo, ſed Theologi quoque. Lutherus enim ſemper docuerat Magiſtratui non eſſe reſiſtendum; & exſtabat ejus ea de re libellus. Cum autem in hac deliberatione periti juris docerent legibus eſſe permiſſum reſiſtere nonnunquam, & nunc in eum caſum de quo leges inter alia mentionem faciunt rem eſſe deductam oſtenderent, Lutherus ingenue profitetur ſe neſciviſſe hoc licere: Et quia leges Politicas Evangelium non impugnat aut aboleat, uti ſemper docuerit. Deinde quoniam hoc tempore tam

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dubio tamque formidoloſo multa poſſint accidere, ſic ut non modo jus ipſum ſed conſcientiæ quoque vis atque neceſſitas arma nobis porrigat, defenſionis cauſa fœdus iniri poſſe dicit, ſive Cæſar ipſe, ſive quis alius forte bellum ejus nomine faciat.

by the laws to reſiſt ſometimes, and demonſtrated that at that time their buſineſs was come to that very caſe, of which the laws make mention among other things; Luther did ingeniouſly profeſs that he knew not that it was lawfull: And becauſe the Goſpel doth not impugne or aboliſh the Politick laws, as he had alwayes taught. Alſo becauſe, the time being ſo perillous and full of terrour, many things might happen which would put the armes in our hands, not onely by the preſcript of the law, but by the force of conſcience and neceſſity, he declared his opinion, that a defenſive League might juſtly be made whether the Emperour himſelf, or any other in his name ſhould make war againſt us.

While they were thus met at *Smalcald*, the Emperour ſent letters to them, not to condemn or diſſolve their meeting, as a King of *England* or *France* would have done, for he knew that by the laws they might meet to look to their common intereſt without him, yea and againſt him. But to charge the Proteſtants to ſend help againſt the *Turk*, who was advancing with a great army towards *Germany*. The Proteſtants anſwered, that becauſe the Emperour would grant them no peace at home, nor ſuſpenſion of the decree of confiſcation againſt their eſtates for their Religion, and that they were in daily expectation of proſcription and hoſtile dealing from him, they could not cut off their own ſinews, and lay themſelves open to his hoſtility to help him againſt a foreign enemy. But if he would make all fiſcal proceedings for the matter of Religion to ſurceaſe till the time

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of the promiſed Councel, and grant them peace and ſafety at home, they would not onely aſſiſt him againſt the *Turk* with all their power, but ſerve him in all the publick intereſts to which their duty bound them. And this is that confederacy of *Smalcald* which the Adverſary cryeth down as the ſpring and pattern of Rebellion from that time to our days, how juſtly, let the equitable Reader judge.

If it be objected, that this abridging of the Emperours power was wrongfully got from him, I will grant it: It was *jus quod cœpit ab injuria*; *a right that began by wrong*; yet confirmed by the Emperours with authentical Charters, and ſtrengthened by long preſcription. The Emperour may thank the Pope for it, who having an ancient jealouſie of the Imperial rights in *Italy*, and not able to ſuffer any *King of the Romans*, but themſelves, have powerfully laboured for many ages to break the Emperours power every where. And it was by their practiſes, that the conſtitution of the Electors and the Golden Bull was made, and thoſe great immunities given to the Princes of the Empire and Imperial Cities, whereby the Emperour is remained a manacled Prince; ſo unable in moſt parts of the Empire to ſtretch his hands upon the meaneſt perſons that trouble him, that he could never ſo much as ſecure *Luther* a poor Monk, though urged to it by the moſt powerfull and irreſiſtible ſollicitations of the Court of *Rome*; but *Luther* continued till death (about thirty years) deſtroying the Popes intereſts in *Germany*, and all parts of *Europe*, and neither Pope nor *Cæſar* could touch him. Wonderfull are the ways of Gods juſtice, that the Pope by foment-

ing factions in the Empire, and breaking the Emperours power, did prepare ſafety and facility for his enemies in the following ages, to make that great breach in his Kingdome, and give that mortal wound to his power, of which it ſhall bleed till it dye of it.

Againſt the *Helvetian* Reformation the Adverſary
Pag. 3. ſaith nothing, onely he arrayeth *Zuinglius* in *a ſwaggering ſwaſh buckler habit*, as if he had wrought Reformation with ſword and buckler; yet it was made quietly the preaching of the Goſpel, and began at *Zurick* in the
Sleidan. year 1522. When *Zuinglius* was cenſured by the Biſhop of *Conſtance* his Ordinary for oppreſſing the *Romiſh* errours, he ſet forth *Theſes* containing his doctrine, and the Senate of *Zurick* called together all the Clergy of the *Canton* to confer about Religion, and requeſted the Biſhop to be preſent, or ſend ſome authorized by him. The Biſhop ſent *Johannes Faber* his Vicar General, in whoſe preſence the Conſul invited all the aſſiſtants, if they had any thing to oppoſe unto the *Theſes* of *Zuinglius* that they would ſpeak. And *Zuinglius* having addreſt the ſame invitation to the Vicar in particular, the Vicar anſwered, that treating of Controverſies was not fit for that place, and that it belonged to the Councel which ſhould aſſemble ſhortly. After that many words had paſt between them, when none appeared that had any thing to oppoſe, the Senate made an Edict, that in all their dominions the Goſpel ſhould be purely taught out of the Books of the Old and New Teſtament, and that humane traditions ſhould be baniſht. This was obeyed, and Reformation was eſtabliſhed without either *ſword* or *buckler*. Neither do I read that *Zuinglius* was in armes

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till eleven years after that five *Cantons* of contrary Religion ſuddenly invaded that of *Zurick*, and put *Zurick* men to a neceſſary but diſorderly defenſe, in which *Zuinglius* was ſlain. The *Switzers* had cantoned themſelves in the year 1315. which was 200. years before the Reformation. Were I as unſincere as my Adverſary, I ſhould charge the *Roman* Religion which then reigned with that change of State.

From *Zuinglius* the Adverſary paſſeth to *Calvin* as the head of the *French* Reformation, wherein he ſheweth his great ignorance; for the Reformed Religion was ſpread in *France* twenty years before *Calvin* was ſettled in *Geneva*, and well nigh aſſoon as in *Germany*. The beginning of which muſt not be aſcribed to one *Hugo*, whom our Adverſary knows not, nor any body elſe. But the truth is, that it was in *France* long before it was in *Germany*, ever ſince the errours and tyranny of the Court of *Rome* began to be oppoſed by the *Valdenſes*, whoſe relicks after long perſecutions by fire and ſword, remained in the Vale of *Cabrieres* and *Marindol* in *Provence*. It was from thence that Reformation was propagated, incouraged by the happy progreſſes of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*. Wherefore the Popes creatures perceiving whence that blow came upon the *Roman* Court, never left ſolliciting *Francis* the I. of *France*, till they got an Edict for the extirpating of them, which was executed with the utmoſt rigour.

And it was not for Religion that they were thus butchered, but meerly to make a ſacrifice to the pride and cruelty of *Rome*. For as for their doctrine that excellent King *Lewis* the XII. liked it ſo well, that to ſome

that repreſented it to him, and would incenſe him againſt them. He anſwered, that they were better Chriſtians then he and his Kingdome.

This was then the true *Origine* of the Reformation of *France*, the doctrine of the *Valdenſes* preſerved in the relicks of their deſcent: a doctrine perfectioned ſince into a more Orthodox Confeſſion conformable to the Confeſſions of other Proteſtant Churches. So *Calvin* had no hand in that Reformation, and no more had he with that of *Geneva*, or in turning that State into an Ariſtocracy, as this Adverſary upbraids him.

My buſineſs being to vindicate Reformation from the charge of rebellion, I muſt take from the Reformers of *Geneva* that aſperſion, that they expelled their Biſhop, and that they altered the conſtitution of that State, and both theſe aſcribed unto *Calvin*. It is a tradition received in *England* for a currant and undoubted truth. And upon that ground many fine and judicious inferences are built. But it is like the ſtories of the Phenix, and the ſinging of Swans before their death, never the truer for the curious ſimilies and ingenious moralities that have been ſpun out of that ſtuffe. What credit can we give to Hiſtories of things happened in the *Indies* two thouſand years ago, if in things done ſo lately, and ſo near us, groſs miſtakes go for uncontrollable truths? I ſay it is utterly falſe that *Calvin* was one of the planters of Reformed Religion at *Geneva*. Falſe alſo that he or the Reformers of *Geneva* turned their Biſhop out of doors. And falſe alſo that the Biſhop went away upon the quarrel of Religion. *Farel*, *Froment*, and *Viret* were they that wrought under God the converſion of the City by their

Epiſtola Benedicti Turretini ad Sculteti in Annal. reformationis An. 1529.

their Sermons, and by a publick conference with the Friars and Clergy of *Geneva*, there being then no Bishop in that Town, who was fled eight moneths before, seeing his conspiracy discovered, to oppresse the liberties of the City, by the help of the Duke of *Savoy*, for which his Secretary was hanged, after he was gone; the said Bishop being hated before, for the rape of a Virgin, and many adulteries with Citizens Wives. And it is most to be noted, that they who after his flight reformed the Civil Government, were strong Papists, and mainly opposed the Reformation of Religion. To which something like was seen in *England*, not far from that time: For the same English Bishops that most earnestly served *Henry* the VIII. to make him acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, were afterwards the greatest opposers of the Work of Reformation, and the fiercest persecutors of the Protestants.

See the book entituled, A view of the Government, &c. by *John Durel*.

Tonstal.
Gardiner.
Bonner &c.

That the Church Discipline of *Geneva* was constituted without a Bishop, is a matter of another nature: Their Successors that continue it so to this day, are of age, let them speak for themselves. It is enough for my present purpose, that I have vindicated the Introduction of Reformation into that State, from the crime of rebellion.

As long as their Bishop lived, they could not have another, and durst not receive him, being manifestly convicted of selling the Cities liberty to the Duke of *Savoy*: And when the Bishop died, they had used themselves to live without a Bishop.

The

The first proof of our Adversary to indite the French Reformation of rebellion, is the enterprise of *Amboise An.* 1560. But the Protestant Religion had subsisted already forty years in *France* under the crosse: And the Professors of the same, though numerous, had never fought for their Religion, but by their constancy in asserting the truth and suffering for it.

The enterprise of *Amboise* was a meer quarrel of State, not of Religion; and *Bernaudie* the Leader was a man most averse from the Protestant Religion: The quarrel was this, King *Francis* the II. being about sixteen years of age, and younger in understanding then years, was altogether governed by some Lords of the House of *Guise*, then lookt upon as strangers, and the Princes of the blood were excluded from the businesses of State. These excluded Princes plotted to surprise the Court at *Amboise*, and remove strangers from about the Kings person, thinking themselves sufficiently warranted by their quality and interest; that plot was cried down as rebellious, because it did not take effect; and being discovered, the House of *Guise* did not fail to make it a matter of High Treason: although the great *Thuanus* depose for the conspirators, that, ***None of them was convicted of any attempt against the King and Queen, but onely against strangers, who governed all things about the Court in a tyrannical way.*** Who so knoweth the interests of the Princes of the blood in *France*, will never call that attempt treason. And if they could do so much by the right of their birth, their right was never the worse for their being Protestants.

Thuan. Hist. lib. 24. Nullos ex conjuratis convictos fuisse alicujus molitionis in Regem aut Reginam, sed tantũ in exteros sui in Aulâ tyrannicé omnia administrabant nempe Guisianos.

Francis II. being dead soon after, and his Successor *Charls*

Charls the IX. being under age, the Princes of the blood had more right then before, to claim the management of the publick affairs, being intruſted with them by the Laws of the Kingdome in the Kings minority, at leaſt in conjunction with the Queen Mother. And being excluded from it again they raiſed an Army to recover their right. That right is not conſidered at all by Jeſuites, that take upon them now a hundred years after to cenſure their actions, but theſe Princes and their followers are repreſented onely as Hereticks and Rebels that made Warre againſt their Sovereigne.

After the King was out of minority, the Princes and their party, ſeeing that the King was much incenſed againſt them, and was of a dangerous and implacable nature, durſt not come neer him; and the frequent Maſſacres, made them keep themſelves in a poſture of defence, and repel force by force.

To be rid of them at once, the King uſed that famous and unparallelled treachery of a feigned peace with the Proteſtants, ſealed with the Marriage of his Siſter with the Head of their party, the firſt Prince of the blood next to his Brothers, *Henry* King of *Navarre*; and having invited them to the Wedding, he ſlew them in their beds. The number of the ſlain in cold blood on St. *Bartholomew*'s Day and ſince, within the ſpace of three moneths, amounted to about a hundred thouſand. An action publickly commended by the Pope, and the Murtherers rewarded with many ſpiritual graces by his Holineſſe.

That the relicks of the party after that general execution, took defenſive arms, as it is not to be commended,

mended, it is not to be wondred at neither: Men are not Angels, and there is nothing more natural, then to ſtrive for life.

The Houſe of *Guiſe* having formed the League, pretended for the deſtruction of Hereſie, but intended by them for the pulling down of the Royal Houſe; King *Henry* the III. perceiving this too late, made uſe of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, then the apparent Heir of the Crown, and of his Proteſtants Army, to oppoſe the League.

That King being ſtabbed by a Monk ſoon after, the Head of the Proteſtant party became lawful King, and his Proteſtant Army the Royal Army: yet their arms then though never ſo juſt, were as much condemned by the Pope as before, and as much taxed of rebellion. But that praiſe cannot be denied to their arms, that by them, as Gods chief inſtruments, the rebellion of the League was defeated, and the lawful King preſerved, raiſed, and ſetled upon his Throne, whileſt the Jeſuited Zealots expreſt their zeal of religion, by attempting to ſtab him, and were too good Catholicks, to be good Subjects.

Since our Adverſary alledgeth the words of King *James* of bleſſed and glorious memory, and ſets himſelf forth under the name of *Philanax*, a Lover of the King, he muſt in duty ſtand to the judgement of that great and judicious King. This Sentence his Majeſty pronounceth of that cauſe which this enemy calleth *a moſt unanſwerable rebellion*, pag. 14. *I never knew yet* (ſaith the King) *that the French Proteſtants took arms againſt their King. In the firſt troubles they ſtood onely upon their defence. Before they took arms they were burnt*

Defence of the Right of Kings.

and

and maſſacred every where; and the quarrel did not begin for Religion, but becauſe when King Francis *the II. was under age, they had been the refuge of the Princes of the blood expelled from the Court, even of the Grandfather of the King now reigning, and of that of the Prince of* Conde, *who knew not where to take ſanctuary: For which the preſent King hath reaſon to wiſh them well. It ſhall not be found that they made any other warre, nay, is it not true that King* Henry *the III. ſent armies againſt them, to deſtroy them; and yet they ran to his help, as ſoon as they ſaw him in danger? Is it not true that they ſaved his life at* Tours, *and delivered him from an extreme peril? Is it not true that they never forſook neither him nor his Succeſſour, in the midſt of the revolt and rebellion of moſt part of the Kingdome, raiſed by the Pope and the greateſt part of his Clergy? Is it not true that they have aſſiſted him in all his battails, and helped much to raiſe the Crown again, which was ready to fall? Is it not true that they which perſecuted the late King* (Henry the II.) *enjoy this day the fruits of the ſervices done by the Proteſtants? who are now maligned not for controverſies of Religion, but becauſe that if their advice was followed, the Crowne of the French Kings ſhould no more depend on the Pope, there would be no Frenchman in* France, *that is not the Kings Subject; there would be no appeal to* Rome *of beneficial and matrimonial cauſes, and the Kingdome ſhould be no more tributary, under colour of* Annats, *and the like impoſitions. Even Cardinal* Perron *cleareth them from that imputation* (of rebellion) *when he ſaith that the doctrine of the depoſition of Kings by the Pope was received in* France *till* Calvin: *He doth then ſilently acknowledge that*

Kings were ill ſerved before, and that thoſe whom he calls hereticks, having brought forth the Holy Scripture to the publick ſight, have made the Right of Kings known, which was oppreſt before. Such a judgement is of great weight, coming from a wiſe King, who was truly informed of the buſineſſes of his neighbours: Certainly, *ſi perito in arte ſua credendum eſt:* If a skilful Artiſt muſt be believed, when he ſpeaketh within the compaſſe of his Art, none can decide better what rebellion is, and what is not, then a great Monarch, jealous of the Royal Authority, skilled in the duty of Subjects, and one that had a long ſtruggling with rebellious ſpirits.

This Sentence was pronounced by his Majeſty in the year 1615, when *France* had peace at home and abroad.

Two years after they had the like teſtimony of their fidelity from their own King, by a Letter of his Majeſty written to their Deputies aſſembled in a Synod at *Vitre*, in theſe terms: *We have received with good ſatisfaction, the new aſſurances and proteſtations which you have made unto us of your fidelity and obedience: In the which if you perſiſt as you ought and as you have done before, you may alſo be aſſured, that we ſhall always have a care to maintain and preſerve you in all the advantages which have been granted unto you.* Theſe Letrers bear the Date of May 29. 1617. from *Paris*.

Nous avons receu bien volontiers les nouuelles aſſurances & proteſtations que vous nous auez faites de voſtre fidelité & obeiſſance. En laquelle perſiſtans comme vous devez & que vous auez fait par le paſsè, vous pouuez auſſi eſtre aſſurez que nous aurons touſſours ſoin de vous maintenir & conſerver en tous les avantages qui vous ont eſté accordez.

Theſe Letters were printed and publiſhed with other Declarations.

Cardinal

Cardinal *d' Oſſat* ſpeaking to Cardinal *Aldobrandin*, Nephew to *Clement* the VIII. about the execrable murther attempted by *John Chaſtel* againſt *Henry* the IV. of *France*, told him, that *if ſuch attempts were allowable, they were more proper to execute for the Hereticks* (ſo he is pleaſed to call the Proteſtants) *whom the King hath left and forſaken, and who have reaſon to ſtand in fear of him: and yet they never attempted any ſuch thing, neither againſt him, nor againſt any of the Kings, his predeceſſors, what ſlaughter ſoever they have made of the ſaid Hugenots.*

Sil y avoit lieu a de tels aſſaſſinats ce ſeroit aux Heretiques a les purchaſſer & executer, qu'il a quittez & abandonnez & qui avoyent a ſe craindre de luy & toutefois ils n'ont rien atenté contre luy ni contre aucun de cinq de nos Roys ſes predeceſſeurs quelque boucherie que leurs Majeſtez ayent fait deſdits Huguenots. *Card. d' Oſſat. Epiſt.* 8. *a Mr. de Velleroy, Jan.* 25. 1595. *pag.*77.

But the greateſt teſtimony of their fidelity, is that famous Edict of *Nantes*, which was expreſſely made to reward them with priviledges, for their conſtant adhering to their King, in the long calamities of *France.*

Seeing then that the French Proteſtants were acknowledged good Subjects by their Sovereigne, and have deſerved by their ſignal loyalty and long ſervices to the Crowne, thoſe few priviledges which they hardly enjoy; it is evident how unjuſt the extraordinary expoſtulation is, That the Roman Catholicks have not the publick allowed exerciſe of Religion in *England*, as the Proteſtants have in *France.* There is great reaſon for that differing dealing. The French Proteſtants have deſerved that liberty and more, by their conſtant fidelity and valour, having maintained their King with their purſes, and defended him with their ſwords, ſo many years, againſt the Jeſuitical

party, who had made a League with ſtrangers to keep him from the Crown, and take away his life. It is known that the Grandfather of the King now reigning, was ſet upon the Throne by the ſwords of his Proteſtant Subjects: Let the Jeſuitical party of *England* ſhew the like ſervice to their Sovereigne, whereby they deſerve the like recompence. What care did they take of the preſervation of their Sovereigns lives, Queen *Elizabeth* and King *Iames*? How did they defend their Crowns againſt the claim and invaſion of ſtrangers? Did they further or hinder the return of our gracious King now reigning? If ſome few Roman Catholicks have fought for our glorious King and Martyr *Charles* the I. their whole party fares the better by it now, and finds the King a grateful Prince, remembring good deeds, and forgetting injuries: Then the difference of their doctrine in point of Government, ought to make a great difference in the allowance of the publick exerciſe of their Religion. The Jeſuited Catholicks acknowledge another Sovereigne over their King, both for the Spiritual and the Temporal, a forreigne power, which can diſpenſe them of their Allegiance to him. The Proteſtants acknowledge no Sovereigne above their King, and give no jealouſie by their doctrine to the Roman Catholick Princes and States under which they live, as the Jeſuites have done, even to Roman Catholicks, by whom they have been expelled out of their Dominions, as Teachers of a doctrine tending to rebellion.

Of the troubles that followed, who ſo will give an impartial judgement, muſt look upon the condition of the French Proteſtants ſince King *Henry* IV. bought his

his peace with the party of the League by the change of his Religion. That King ſeeing himſelf obliged to provide for the ſafety of his Proteſtant ſubjects, by whoſe armes and long ſervice he had been preſerved in his adverſities, and finally placed upon the Royal Seat, gave them ſome places of ſtrength in ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdome for certain years; and by an Edict (called the Edict of *Nantes*) the free enjoying of their eſtates, and the open exerciſe of their Religion, with ſome limitation of places.

Of the priviledges granted them by that Edict, there were many infractions, eſpecially ſince the death of *Henry* the IV. who both by his authority, and together by his ancient intereſt in the Proteſtant party, kept all quiet, and preſerved them from thoſe wrongs to which the weakeſt are alwaies obnoxious.

The term being expired of the grant of thoſe places, King *Lewis* the XIII. renewed it for four or five years, after which he would have them out of their hands. That they were to be reſtored upon the Kings demand, was the opinion of grave Proteſtants, the ſevereſt exactors of the obedience of ſubjects to the Sovereign; of my Reverend Father eſpecially, who being eminent and reſpected in the party, was a principal means to keep the Proteſtant Churches on this ſide *Loire* in peace and in duty to their King, for which his Majeſty ſent him a conſiderable ſumme of money, which he refuſed to take, ſaying, that he could be loyal to his King without being bought.

But the neceſſity of their keeping thoſe places, ſeemed to be juſtified by the reaſon of the firſt grant, which

was to preſerve them from the violence of their bitter enemies; for (ſaid they) if ſo many places of ſafety could not keep us ſafe from their inſolence, what will become of us when we ſhall lye naked of all defenſe, and expoſed to the will of that party which uſed us before like ſheep appointed to the ſlaughter?

The Aſſembly of Rochel was not an Eccleſiaſtick but a Politick Aſſembly, for thoſe two ſorts of Aſſemblies they were allowed to keep, but now the Eccleſiaſtick only is allowed.

Upon thoſe terms they were when the Aſſembly of *Rochel* being once licenced by their King, and ſince forbidden, ſate againſt his will, and took order for a defenſive war. Whereupon, my Reverend Father returning from the National Synod of *Alais*, of which he had been Preſident, writ a Letter to them, which I inſert here as very pertinent to my purpoſe.

Gentlemen,

I do not write to you to powr my ſorrows into your boſome, or to entertain you with my private croſſes: upon that I need no comforter, accounting it a great honour, that in the publick affliction of the Church, God would have me to march in the front. And I would account it a great happineſs if all the ſtorm ſhould light on my head, ſo that I were the onely ſufferer, and the Church of God ſhould enjoy peace and proſperity. A more ſmarting care hath moved me to write to you, and forced me to gô beyond my nature, which was alwayes averſe from medling with publick buſineſſes, and from moving out of the ſphere of my proper calling. For ſeeing the general body of the Church in eminent danger, and upon the brink of a diſmal precipice, it was not poſſible for me to keep ſilence. Nay, I cannot be

ſilent

silent in this urgent necessity, without drawing upon me the guilt of insensibility and Cruelty towards the Church of God. And I am full of hope that while I deliver my mind to you about publick businesses, my domestick affliction will free me from jealousies in your opinion. And if I be not believed, at least I shall be excused. Indeed it doth not become me to take upon me to give counsel to an assembly of persons chosen out of the whole Kingdome to bear the burden of the publick affairs in a time so full of difficulties; yet I think it usefull for you to be truly informed what the sense is, and what the disposition of our Churches by persons that have a particular knowledge of it.

None could have a more particular knowledge of it, then he who was lately come from the National Synod in the South of France, where he made it his businesse to observe the posture of the affairs of the Protestants.

The question being then, whether you ought to separate your Assembly to obey his Majesty, or keep together to give order to the affairs of the Churches, I am obliged to tell you, that the general desire of our Churches is, that it may please God to continue our peace in our obedience to his Majesty. And that seeing the King resolved to make himself obeyed by the force of his armes, they trust, that you will do your best to avoid that storm, and rather yield unto necessity, then to ingage them in a war which most certainly will ruine most part of our Churches, and will bring us into a trouble, of which we see the beginning, but can see no end. By obeying the King you shall take away the pretence used by those that set his Majesty on to persecute us: and if we must be persecuted, all that fear God desire that it may be for the profession of the Gospel, and that our persecution may truly be the cross of Christ. In one word, I can assure you, Gentlemen, that the greatest and best part *of our Churches wisheth for your separation, if it may be with the safety of your persons: yea, that many of the* Ro-

mane

mane *Church deſiring the publick peace, are continually about us, beſeeching and exhorting us that we do not by caſting our ſelves headlong, involve them in the ſame ruine.*

Hereupon I need not repreſent unto you how terribly and generally our poor flocks are frighted and diſmayed, caſting their eyes upon you, as perſons that may procure their reſt, and by yielding to the preſent neceſſity, blow away the ſtorm hanging over their heads. Many already have forſaken the land, many have forſaken their Religion; whence you may judge what diſſipation is like to follow, if this exaſperation go on further.

No more do I need to recommend unto you to have a tender care of the preſervation of our poor Churches, knowing that you would chuſe death, rather then to draw that reproach upon you, that you have haſtened the perſecution of the Church, and deſtroyed that which the zeal of our Fathers have planted, and that you have put this State in confuſion.

I am not ignorant, that many reaſons are alledged to perſwade you to continue your Aſſembly, they tell you that the King hath granted it; but for that grant of his Majeſty you can ſhow no Warrant, nor any written Declaration, without which all promiſes are but words in the air: for Kings believe they have power to forbid that which they have permitted, and to revoke that which they have granted, when they judge it expedient for the good of their affairs. Neither is there any of you, after he hath ſent his ſervant, or given him leave to goe to ſome place, that thinks not that he hath power to call him back. Sovereign Princes eſpecially, are very unwilling to keep their promiſes, when they have been extorted.

Alſo

Alſo great number of grievances and contraventions to the Kings Edicts are repreſented unto you, which complaints, to our great grief, are too true. But that I may not urge that we have given occaſion to many of thoſe evils our own ſelves, the difficulty lyeth not in repreſenting our griefs, but in finding the remedies. Conſider then whether the ſubſiſtence of your Aſſembly can heal all theſe ſores; whether your ſitting can give a ſhelter to our Churches, provide all things neceſſary for a war where the parties are ſo unequal, raiſe forces, and make a ſtock to pay them; Whether all the good that your ſitting can produce can countervail the diſſipation of ſo many Churches which lye open to the wrath of their enemies: Whether when they are fallen you can raiſe them again: Whether in the evident diviſion that is among us, you are able to rally the ſcattered parts of that divided body, which if it were well united, yet would be too weak to ſtand upon the defenſive.

Pardon me, Gentlemen, if I tell you that you ſhall not find all our Proteſtants inclined to obey your reſolutions; and that the fire being kindled all about you, ſhall remain helpleſs beholders of the ruine which you have drawn on our heads. Neither can it be unknown to you, that many of the beſt quality among us, and beſt able to defend us, openly blame your actions, holding and profeſſing, that ſuffering for this cauſe is not ſuffering for the cauſe of God. Theſe making no reſiſtance, and opening the gates of their places, or joining their armes with the Kings, you may eaſily judge what loſs and what weakning of the party that will be. How many of our Nobility will forſake you, ſome out of treachery, ſome out of weakneſs? Even they who

And ſo it proved.

in an Aſſembly are moſt vehement in their votes, and to ſhew themſelves zealous, are altogether for violent waies, are very often they that will revolt and betray their brethren. They bring our diſtreſſed Churches to the hotteſt danger, and there leave them, going away after they have ſet the houſe on fire.

If there be once fighting or beſieging of our towns, whatſoever the iſſue may be of the combat or the ſiege, all that while it will be hard to keep the people animated againſt us, from falling upon our Churches, which have neither retreat nor defenſe. And what order ſoever the Magiſtrates of contrary Religion take about it, they ſhall never be able to compaſs it.

I might alſo repreſent unto you many reaſons out of the ſtate of our Churches, both within and without the Kingdome, to ſhew you that this ſtirring of yours is altogether unſeaſonable, and that you ſet ſail againſt wind and tyde. But you are clear-ſighted enough to ſee it, and to conſider in what poſture your neighbours are, and from whence you may look for help; whether among you the vertue and the concord, and the quality of the heads is grown or diminiſht. Certainly this is not the time when the troubling of this pool can heal our diſeaſes. And certain it is, that if any thing can help ſo much weakneſs, it muſt be the zeal of Religion, which in the time of our fathers hath upholden us, when we had leſs ſtrength, and more vertue. But in this cauſe you ſhall find that zeal languiſhing, becauſe moſt of our people *believe that this evil might have been avoided without breach of conſcience. Be ye ſure that there will be alwaies diſunion among us, every time that we ſhall ſtir for civil cauſes, and not directly for the cauſe of the Goſpel.*

Againſt

Againſt that it is objected, that our enemies have determined our ruine; that they undermine us by little and little; that it is better to begin now, then to ſtay longer. Truly that man ſhould be void of common ſenſe, that doubted of their ill will. And yet when I call to mind our ſeveral loſſes, as that of Lectoure, Privas, *and* Bearn, *I finde that we our ſelves have contributed to them, and it is no wonder that our enemies take no care to remedy our faults, and that they joyn with us to do us harm. But hence it follows, not that we throw the helve after the hatchet, and ſet our houſe on fire our ſelves, becauſe others are reſolved to burn it, or take in hand to remedy particular loſſes by means weak to redreſs them, but ſtrong and certain to ruine the general. God, who hath ſo many times diverted the counſels taken for our ruine, hath neither loſt his power, nor altered his will. We ſhall find him the ſame ſtill, if we have the grace to wait for his aſſiſtance, not caſting our ſelves headlong by our impatience, or ſetting our mind obſtinately upon impoſſibilities. Take this for certain, that although our enemies ſeek our ruine, they will never undertake it openly, without ſome pretence, other and better then that of Religion, which we muſt not give them. For if we keep our ſelves in the obedience which ſubjects owe to their Sovereign, you ſhall ſee, that while our enemies hope in vain that we ſhall make our ſelves guilty by ſome diſobedience. God will give them ſome other work, and afford us occaſions to ſhew to his Majeſty that we are a body uſefull to this State, and put him in mind of the ſignal ſervices that our Churches have done to the late King of glorious memory. But if we are ſo unfortunate, that while we keep our ſelves in our duty, the calumnies of our enemies*

prevail, at leaſt we ſhall get this ſatisfaction, that we have kept all the right on our ſide, and made it appear, that we love the peace of the State.

Notwithſtanding all this, Gentlemen, you may and ought to take order for the ſafety of your perſons. For whereas his Majeſty and his Counſel have ſaid often, that if you ſeparate your ſelves, he will let our Churches enjoy peace, and the benefit of his Edicts, it is not reaſonable that your ſeparation be done with the peril of your perſons. And whenever you petition for your ſafe diſſolution, I truſt it will be eaſily obtained, if you make poſſible requeſts, and ſuch, as the miſery of the time, and the preſent neceſſity can bear. In the mean while you may adviſe before you part, what ſhould be done, if notwithſtanding your ſeparation, we ſhould be oppreſt, that order your prudence may finde, and it is not my part to ſuggeſt it unto you.

If by propounding theſe things unto you, I have exceeded the limits of diſcretion, you will be pleaſed to impute it to my zeal for the good and preſervation of the Church. And if this advice of mine is rejected, as unworthy of your conſideration, this comfort I ſhall have, that I have diſcharged my conſcience, and retiring my ſelf into ſome foreign Countrey, there I will end thoſe few daies which I have yet to live, lamenting the loſs of the Church, and the deſtruction of the Temple, for the building whereof I have laboured with much more courage and fidelity then ſucceſs. The Lord turn away his wrath from us, direct your Aſſembly, and preſerve your perſons. I reſt, &c.

From Sedan, Feb. 12. 1621.

When

When this Letter was read in the Aſſembly, ſome aroſe immediately and left it: others continued to ſit, and by their ſitting turned theſe warnings into prophecies. This Epiſtle will give to the judicious Reader an inſight into the affairs of that time and State; and together into the preſent queſtion, which is altogether of fact, whether and how far the *French* Proteſtants may be taxed of diſobedience againſt their Sovereign. For it is juſtified by this relation, that when ſome of them reſiſted, they had the greateſt temptation to it that a juſt fear can preſent unto fleſh and bloud; and yet that even then they were diſavowed by the *beſt and the moſt* of their Church, and exhorted to their duty by their Divines, which in points of conſcience are the repreſentative perſons of a party when they are ſolemnly met; and this was the ſenſe of the National Synod, of which this eminent Divine was Preſident but two moneths before.

Here every wiſe and charitable Chriſtian ſhould lay *David*'s doctrine to heart, *Pſal.* 41. 1. אשרי משכיל אל דל *Bleſſed is he that conſiders with intelligence and judgement him that is in a low condition.* It is eaſie for us that enjoy proſperity under a gracious King, to determine the point of paſſive obedience: not ſo for them that groan under the ſad burden of the Croſs. Chriſtian equity ought to pity thoſe that are expoſed to the ſad counſels of terrour and deſpair.

I am not without ſuſpition, that when thoſe places of ſafety were granted to them by *Henry* the IV. their enemies in the Kings Counſel ſuggeſted or furthered that grant for their undoing in the time to come; for they might

might well foreſee, that on the one ſide a wiſe King would not ſuffer long ſuch a diſeaſe in his own bowels as a party of his ſubjects armed with places of ſecurity againſt him: and that on the other ſide, the party ſo ſecured, would not part with that ſecurity for their Religion, Liberties, and Lives, without committing ſuch actions as would make them obnoxious to their Sovereigns anger, and their ruine.

Three or four years after the rendition of all thoſe places to the King, the Duke of *Montmorancy* raiſed a party againſt him in *Languedock*, of which he was Governour, hoping to find the Proteſtants which are numerous there, prepared ſubjects for an inſurrection; yet neither his ſolicitations, nor the reſentment of their ſufferings could move them to aſſiſt him. But they joyned univerſally with the King, and did rare ſervice in a battel where that Duke was defeated and taken, and with him a Jeſuited Biſhop. And it is to be noted, that old Marſhal *de la Force* a Proteſtant, that hardly eſcaped the Maſſacre of St. *Bartholomew*, was one of the chief Commanders of the Kings Army.

The Adverſary gives a touch of the wars, begun in *Germany*, *Bohemia*, and *Hungary* in the year 1619. of which he imputes the whole cauſe to the Proteſtants. I undertake not to juſtifie their errours; I ſay onely, that whoſo had looked with an ordinary judgement upon the face of thoſe Countreys, as they were then divided and ballanced between the Papiſt and the Proteſtant party, might have foretold without a ſpirit of prophecy, that they ſhould not enjoy a long peace, there being ſo many free ſpirits animated to liberty and revenge by the ſeve-

rity

rity of the ſuperſtitious houſe of *Auſtria* towards their Proteſtant ſubjects.

If *Bethlem Gabor* was a prodigious man, and a *demi-Turk*, as this man makes him, it is nothing to us: as Religion juſtifieth no mans faults, no mans faults can condemn Religion. The notion under which I fancy that man, is, that of a cannon-ſhot without bullet, which makes a great and ſhort crack, and no effect. All that the Adverſary ſaith of his dealing with the *Turk*, ſheweth, that the Proteſtants of *Hungary* were ſo oppreſt by the Emperour, that they wiſht themſelves the *Turks* ſubjects. I pray God they do not ſo ſtill, and with them the other Proteſtants belonging to the Emperours hereditary Countreys, ſeeing their brethren that live under the *Turk* enjoy the freedome of their Religion. The ſame reaſon might make the Proteſtants of the Empire slow to contribute towards the war againſt the *Turk*; yet I hear they are as forward as any. It is not declaiming againſt them (as the Adverſary doth) but uſing them like Chriſtians that will make them joyn heartily with the Emperour in that war. The *Spaniſh* branch of the houſe of *Auſtria* hath loſt great part of *Netherlands* by the inflexibleneſs of *Philip* the II. of *Spain*, to grant liberty of Religion to his Proteſtant ſubjects. Let the *German* branch of *Auſtria* which uſeth the like hardneſs, take heed of the like loſs.

The Reformation of Religion in the United Provinces, is that upon which the Adverſary triumpheth moſt, it being very apparent, to his thinking, that they brought it in by ſhaking the Yoke of the King of *Spain*. But there is great difference between reforming and

and eſtabliſhing the Reformation. The firſt was done by the Word, the ſecond by the Sword, and the firſt forty years before the ſecond. The Reformed Religion was ſpred over the Seventeen Provinces many years, before there was any thought of making an Union againſt the Spaniard; neither was that Union made upon the ſcore of Religion, but of State, for maintaining their Franchiſes againſt the oppreſſion of *Spain*; as it was ſufficiently juſtified, by their chooſing of *Francis* Duke
An. 1583. of *Alenſon*, a Roman Catholick, for their Prince; which they would never have done, if the Union *had*
pag. 32. *ever marched under the notion of Religion*, as our Adverſary affirmeth, or if the Proteſtants had been the greater number. And that Religion was not that which knit the party, and that there was no ſuch thing in the Articles, it appeared again when ſome Provinces forſook the Union, becauſe the Prince of *Orange* had put Religion among the cauſes of their defenſive Warre. If then the Union was unjuſt, the injuſtice muſt not be caſt upon Religion, ſince it was not made upon that intereſt; and if it was juſt, it could not become unjuſt, by the acceſſion of the intereſt of Religion, to the other intereſts. So that which way ſoever the Adverſary takes it, the Roman Catholicks bear an equal ſhare with the Proteſtants, in the right and wrong of the cauſe; *Flanders* and *Brabant* were as guilty as *Holland* and *Zealand*: The difference is, that *Flanders* and *Brabant* were beaten to obedience by the Duke of *Parma*, but *Holland* and *Zealand* proved too ſtrong for him. The World beholds with amazement the ſucceſſe of that Union, that theſe little Provinces ſhould bring their

their Prince to be their ſuppliant, that he might be allowed to quit his right over them, and acknowledge them Free States, yea and to juſtifie their armes. It is that ſucceſſe, not their guilt, that makes our Adverſary ſo vehement againſt them; for ill Gameſters will be angry, when they are looſers.

Whether it be out of wilfulneſſe or ignorance, this Gentleman miſ-repreſents that buſineſſe, ſpeaking of the King of *Spain*, as of an abſolute Sovereigne of the Low Countries, and of the people, as of meer Subjects. *Philip* the II. was not their *King*, but their *Count*. But it is beſides my buſineſſe, to inquire how the rights of Sovereignty were divided between the Prince and the People, which ought to be known before the caſe be ſtated. I have ſaid ſomething of that in my *Clamor Regii Sanguinis ad Cœlum.*

If the cauſe of Religion made the quarrel irreconcileable, *Philip* the II. may thank himſelf for it. *Strada* the great friend of the Spaniard, tells us that the Great Council of *Spain* repreſented to the King, that unleſſe he granted liberty of conſcience to his Subjects of the *Netherlands*, the Countrey would be loſt, and the Warre perpetual; whereupon the King fell on his knees before a Crucifix, and vowed that he would chooſe to loſe his Dominions, rather then to permit hereſie, ſo he called the Proteſtant Religion. If many years after they were offered to be ſecured for their Religion, as our Adverſary ſaith (which I never heard before) it was too late. It is an unequitable motion, and more advantageous for the Roman party than ours, that exceſſes happening by the ordinary courſe of humane buſineſſes be not imputed to Religion. Oppreſſion will pag. 39.

make ſubjects to ſhake off the yoke: And the proſperity of their defection keeps them from returning to their former ſubjection.

From *Holland* the Adverſary ſaileth into *Scotland*, and objects to us the Maxims of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, and the diſorders of that time. Of which I have ſaid enough in the Chapter before.

Of the Work of Reformation in *England*, and the publick actions of that age upon that intereſt, he ſpeaks
pag. 71. very ſcornfully; ſaying, that the *ſect of Wicleff lay ſtrangled in the cradle till King* Edward *the VI. his dayes, when ſome ends of it were taken up again, and ſet out with more oſtentation then ever, in that Princes minority: and what rare effects of obedience were by that means produced in Queen* Maries *time, who brought them up again to the teſt, may be eaſily read in our Chronicles. Wherein it is plain, that in the poor five years of her Reign there was* de facto *more open and violent oppoſition and rebellion, made by her own ſubjects, then Queen* Elizabeth *had in forty five years; or any Prince before or ſince the Wicleffian doctrine, till the ſame ſmothered fire broke out at laſt in good King* Charles *his time, to his utter ruin, and the ſhaking of the very foundation of his Monarchy.* Is this ſpoken like *a moſt obſervant Son, and in every honeſt mans eſteem a pious, reverend, and learned Prieſt of the Church of England*, as this Author is tearmed in the Publiſhers Epiſtle to the Reader? Certainly a Son and a Prieſt of the Church of *England* would never have derived from *Wickleff*, but from the Holy Scripture, the Religion of the Church his Mother; nor aſcribed to her Religion the cauſe of the late horrid rebellion. We ſee what

what a Son and Prieſt of the Church he is, the tree *is* known by his fruit. What better figs can be gathered from ſuch a thorn? What better grapes from ſuch a bramble? And what is that doctrine of *Wickliffe* which he imputes to the Proteſtants, to the Engliſh eſpecially? *Impios nullum dominium habere*, *That the ungodly* pag. 70. *can have no right of dominion*: Was that the doctrine *ſet out with oſtentation in* Edward *the VI. his dayes?* Or was any of the Proteſtants found tainted with that doctrine, when Queen *Mary* burnt them, which this man calls *bringing them to the teſt*? Sure it was not upon that ground that ſome oppoſitions were made againſt that Queen. It is a wonder that ſhe met with no more, conſidering how her Father had declared by Act of Parliament her Mothers Marriage unlawful, and her ſelf incapable of the Crown, and had miſerably incumbred the Title and Succeſſion of his Children.

That there was *more open and violent oppoſition* againſt her in her five years reigne from her own Subjects, then Queen *Elizabeth* had in forty five years, it is, becauſe they that went to queſtion her Title, went to work plainly above boord; but no ſecret Jeſuitical conſpiracies to ſtabbe or poyſon her, as againſt Queen *Elizabeth.*

The means ſhe made to reduce her diſſenting ſubjects in Religion, when they made no oppoſition againſt her, was to make bon-fires of them. Three hundred of thoſe burnt-offerings ſhe ſacrificed unto God: A farre greater number in *her poor five years*, then that of the Popiſh Martyrs of diſobedience, ſince the death of that

Queen, now above a hundred years. For no Papiſt was executed for his Religion, all for diſobeying the Laws of the Land, and many of them for High Treaſon.

It is known that Queen *Mary* got the Crowne by the aſſiſtance of the Proteſtants of *Suffolk*, and what recompence ſhe gave them for it. And whereas no fewer then eight rebellions did riſe in *Henry* the VIII. his dayes, I find not that the Proteſtants had a hand in any of them. All were raiſed by Papiſts; and upon the ſcore of Popery.

The principal colour of our Adverſaries malice is his deteſtation of the late rebellion of *England*, and the execrable Murther committed in the ſacred Perſon of our gracious Sovereigne. Upon this he makes ſeveral Panegyricks, which are very ill ſorted with his Apology for *Mariana*, and juſtifying of the *Ieſuites* doctrine: Eſpecially ſeeing that thoſe actions were copied out upon their principles. *Felicia tempora quæ te Moribus admorunt.* Belike the curious pens of the wiſe States-men and learned Scholars of *England*, had need to be ſupplied by the boyiſh theames of a petty Novice of *Doway*, to learn the duty of Subjects, and to abhorre the guiltineſſe of rebellion.

The venome that lieth under that oratory of invectives, is that all the miſchief is imputed to the *Proteſtants of Integrity*, a term which he uſeth like a ſtirrupleather, longer or ſhorter, according to his occaſions, yet alwayes treacherouſly to caſt the faults of ſome particular perſon, or ſome heretical Sect upon the generality of the Proteſtants. But let him know, that the King

King, the Church, and the State, are *Proteſtants of Integrity*: and that the parricides and troublers of our *Iſrael* will never give him thanks for calling them *Proteſtants*: Alſo that we acknowledge them not for ſuch, unleſſe it be upon a new ſcore, becauſe they *proteſt* againſt the Kings power and the duty of their obedience.

When Jeſuits or their Scholars, (as this Gentleman is) charge our Fanaticks with High Treaſon, they do but act that which they had prepared to do, if the Powder-Plot had taken. For they had a Declaration ready to indite the Proteſtants of that Treaſon. For theſe men would ſtory the juſt clamor againſt them for their doctrine of rebellion and parricide, by laying the ſame charge with loud words upon others.

We have great reaſon to call upon the Juſtice of God and Men to condemne the unſincerity of this clamour. With what face or conſcience can the Jeſuits paſſe a hard Sentence upon the late Rebels and King-killers, ſeeing that theſe furious Zealots have neither taught nor done any thing in that horrible defection, but what they had learned of the Jeſuits? For what do they blame them for?

Is it for teaching that the Sovereigne Power lieth in the Commons, and that they may alter the Government of a State? Did they not learn that of *Bellarmine*? *The Power* (ſaith he) *is in the whole multitude, as in its ſubject, and if there be a lawful cauſe for it, the multitude may alter the Royal State into an Ariſtocracy, or Democracy, and ſo on the contrary.*

Bellarm. de Laicis, lib. 3. cap. 6. Poteſtas immediate eſt tanquam in ſubjecto in tota multitudine, & ſi cauſa legitima adſit poteſt multitudo mutare regnum in Ariſtocratiam, aut Democratiam, & è contrario.

Is

Is it for ſaying that the people makes the King, and may unmake him, and retains ſtill the habit of power? Did they not learn of the ſame *Bellarmine*, that, *In the Kingdomes of men, the Kings power is from the people, becauſe the people makes the King. And in temporal Common-wealths, if the King degenerate into a Tyrant, though he be the Head of the Kingdome, he may be depoſed by the people, and another elected.* And doth he not praiſe *Navarrus* for ſaying, that *the people never ſo transferre their power to the King, but they retain it in the habit; ſo that in ſome caſes they may reſume it.*

Bellarm. de Concil. lib. 2. cap. 19. In regnis hominum poteſtas Regis eſt à populo, quia populus facit Regem.

Ibid. cap. 19. ſect ad alteram. In Rebusp. temporalibus ſi Rex degeneret in tyrannum, licet caput ſit Regni, tamen à populo poteſt deponi & eligi alius. Et *Recogn. lib. de Laicis ſect. Addo experientiam* laudat Navarrum qui non dubitat affirmare nunquam populum ita poteſtatem ſuam in Regem transferre quin illam ſibi in habitu retineat; ut in certis quibuſdam caſibus etiam actu recipere poſſit.

Is it for ſaying that the Common-wealth may take defenſive armes againſt the King, and expel him? The Jeſuite *Suarez* taught them that doctrine. *The Common-wealth* (ſaith he) *conſidered in her meer nature, and as it was among the Gentiles, and as it is now among the Pagans, hath the power to defend her ſelf againſt a Tyrant. If a lawful King governe tyrannically, and that there be no other remedy for the Kingdome but to expel and depoſe the King, the whole Common-wealth by the publick and common conſent of the Cities and the Peers, may depoſe the King.*

Suarez Defenſ Fid lib. 6. c. 19. ſect. 17. Reſp. ex ſola rei natura ſpectatam prout fuit apud Gentiles & nunc eſt inter Ethnicos habet poteſtatem ſe defendendi à Tyranno Rege. & *ſect.* 15. Si Rex legitimus tyrannice gubernat & regno nullum aliud ſit remedium niſi Regem expellere & deponere, poterit Reſp. tota publico & communi conſenſu civitatem & procerum Regem deponere.

Or

Or do the Jeſuites inveigh againſt them for making a formal and aggreſſive Warre againſt the King? They have no reaſon for it, ſeeing that the Jeſuite *Mariana* hath ſet them down the whole courſe which they have followed. *The readieſt and the ſafeſt way* (ſaith he) *if the people may meet in a publick Aſſembly, is to deliberate by common conſent what is to be done, and then to keep inviolably that which is agreed on by common conſent. The Prince muſt firſt be admoniſh't and exhorted to mend: But if he refuſe the remedy, and there be no hope of his mending, the ſentence being once pronounced* (againſt him) *it will be lawful for the Common-wealth to refuſe to obey him. And becauſe a Warre muſt neceſſarily follow, the counſels how to maintain it muſt be ſet down, armes muſt be quickly provided, and taxes laid upon the people, to bear the expences of the Warre. And if it be requiſite, and the Common-wealth cannot otherwiſe maintain it ſelf, it ſhall be lawful, both by the right of defence, and more by the Authority proper* (to the people) *to declare publikely the King to be the common enemy, and then kill him with the ſword.*

Mariana lib. 6. de Rege, cap. 6. pag. 59. & 60.

Expedita maximè & tuta via eſt ſi publici conventus facultas detur communi conſenſu quid ſtatuendum ſit deliberare, fixum ratumque habere quod communi ſententia ſteterit. Monendus in primis Princeps erit atque ad ſanitatem revocandus, &c. Qui ſi medicinam reſpuat, neque ſpes ulla ſanitatis relinquatur, ſententia pronuntiata licebit Reip. ejus imperium detrectare primum, & quoniam bellum neceſſario concitabitur, ejus defendendi conſilia explicare, expedire arma, pecunias in belli ſumptus imperare populis: & ſi res feret neque aliter ſe Reſp. tueri poſſit, eodem defenſionis jure, ac vero potiori authoritate & propria Principem publice hoſtem declaratum ferro perimere.

Do the Jeſuites look with horrour upon that Court of Juſtice erected to try the King? Let them remember that they had *Mariana*'s warrant for it. *That the Common-wealth from which the Royal Power hath its origine,*

Mariana Ibid. Certe à Rep. unde ortum habet regia poteſtas rebus exigentibus Regem in jus vocari poſſe, & ſi ſanitatem reſpuat Principatu ſpoliari. Neque ita in Principem jura poteſtatis tranſtulit ut non ſibi majorem reſervarit poteſtatem.

original, may when the caſe requires it, bring the King to judgement; and if he refuſe to mend, deprive him of his Sovereignty: For the Commonwealth hath not ſo transferred the right of power unto the Prince, but it hath reſerved a greater power to it ſelf.

And why doth our Adverſary, an earneſt defender of the Jeſuites, exclaim ſo much againſt the abominable parricide acted upon our Sacred Sovereigne, ſeeing that the people which made Warre againſt him, held him to be a Tyrant, and it is the currant opinion of the Jeſuites, that a tyrant may be killed by any private man. *A true Prince* (ſaith *Leſſius*) *who is a tyrant by reaſon of his adminiſtration, cannot be killed by a private perſon as long as he remaineth a Prince, ---- but he muſt firſt be depoſed and declared enemy by the Common-wealth, or the Parliament of the Kingdome, or ſome other, having Authority, that it may be lawful to attempt any thing againſt his perſon.* And *Suarez* ſaith to the ſame purpoſe, that *after the Sentence given* (againſt a King) *he is altogether deprived of his Kingdome, ſo that he can no more poſſeſſe it with a juſt title. Wherefore from thenceforth he may be uſed like a tyrant, and killed by any private perſon.*

Leſſius lib. 2. de Iuſtitia & Iure cap. 9. dubio 4. ſcribit.
Verum Principem qui tyrannus eſt ratione adminiſtrationis non poſſe à privatis interimi quamdiu manet Princeps, — primum à Repub. vel comitiis Regni vel alio habente authoritatem eſſe deponendum, & hoſtem declarandum, ut in ipſius perſonam liceat quicquam attentare.

Suarez contra Regem Mag. Brit. lib. 6. cap. 4. ſect. 14.
Poſt ſententiam latam domnino privatur regno ita ut non poſſit juſto titulo illud poſſidere; ergo ex tunc poterit tanquam tyrannus tractari & conſequenter à quocunque privato poterit interfici.

Nei-

Neither ought the Jeſuites to find fault with the publick thanksgiving for murthering the King, and making of the thirtieth of *January* a Thanksgiving Day, ſeeing that the Jeſuites of *Paris* ſhewed the way for that to the Rebels in *England*, for in the time of the French League, they made Solemne Thanksgivings for the murthering of their King, as Pope *Sixtus* the V. did ſince at *Rome*, with a vehement oration, in which he applieth a Propheſie of the Incarnation of the Sonne of God unto that Kings Murther.

So much the late Rebels of *England* have learned of you, Fathers Jeſuites, and no reaſon have you to chide your Scholars for following your doctrine and example; how far you are yet before them, I will ſhew before I have done with you. For they do not make the crown of their Kings obnoxious to be kickt down by the Pope, and have learned no further of your maximes, then will ſerve them to kill the King, and keep rhe crown for themſelves. And by their groſs dealing with their King, beheading him upon a Scaffold, whereby they have ſpun a halter for their own necks, they have ſhewed themſelves not skilled in the myſteries of King-killing, ſet forth by your *Mariana*, who to put a King to death with leſs danger to the Actours, then to ſtab him, will have him taken away by poiſon. Yet ſo mercifull he is to ſuch a King, that leaſt he ſhould be acceſſary to his own death, by taking the poiſon himſelf in his meat or

Mariana lib. 1. *cap.* 7. Hoc temperamento uti in hac quidem diſputatione licebit, ſi non ipſe qui perimitur venenum haurire cogitur quo intimis medullis concepto pereat: ſed exterius ab alio adhibeatur, nihil adjuvante eo qui perimendus eſt. Nimirum cum tanta vis eſt veneni in ſella eo, autveſte delibuta, ut vim interficiendi habeat. Qua arte à Mauris Regibus invenio ſæpe alios Principes miſſis donis, veſte pretioſa, linteis, armis, ephippiis, ſuiſſe oppreſſos.

drink, he will have a ſtrong and ſubtile poiſon put in a garment or ſaddle, which may ſpread its mortiferous quality into his body. And for that he propounds the example of *Moore* Kings, who have killed their enemies with poiſoned preſents. Theſe Jeſuitical curioſities about a murther are too fine for our *Northern* Fanaticks; but for going ſo far with you as they have done, you have reaſon to cheriſh them.

When the buſineſſes of the late bad times are once ripe for an hiſtory, and time the bringer of truth hath diſcovered the myſteries of iniquity, and the depths of Satan which have wrought ſo much crime and miſchief, it will be found, that the late rebellion was raiſed and foſtered by the arts of the Court of *Rome*. That Jeſuites profeſſed themſelves Independent, as not depending on the Church of *England*; and Fifth-Monarchy-men, that they might pull down the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and that in the Committees, for the deſtruction of the King and the Church, they had their ſpies and their agents. The *Roman* Prieſt and Confeſſour is known, who when he ſaw the fatal ſtroke given to our Holy King and Martyr, flouriſhed with his ſword, and ſaid, Now the greateſt enemy that we had in the world is gone.

When the newes of that horrible execution came to *Roan*, a Proteſtant Gentleman of good credit was preſent in a great company of Jeſuited perſons: where after great expreſſions of joy, the graveſt of the company, to whom all gave ear, ſpake much after this ſort: *The King of* England *at his Marriage had promis'd us the re-eſtabliſhing of the Catholick Religion in* England; *and when he delayed to fulfill his promiſe, we ſum-*

Which is moſt falſe.

ſummoned him from time to time to performe it: We came ſo far as to tell him, that if he would not do it, we ſhould be forced to take thoſe courſes which would bring him to his deſtruction. We have given him lawful warning, and when no warning would ſerve, we have kept our word to him, ſince he would not keep his word to us.

That grave Rabbies ſentence agreeth with this certain intelligence which ſhall be juſtified whenſoever Authority will require it: That the year before the Kings death, a ſelect number of Engliſh Jeſuits were ſent from their whole party in *England*; firſt to *Paris*, to conſult with the Faculty of *Sorbon*, then altogether Jeſuited; to whom they put this queſtion in writing: That ſeeing the State of *England* was in a likely poſture to change Government, whether it was lawful for the Catholicks to work that change, for the advancing and ſecuring of the Catholick Cauſe in *England*, by making away the King, whom there was no hope to turn from his hereſie? Which was anſwered affirmatively. After which the ſame perſons went to *Rome*, where the ſame queſtion being propounded and debated, it was concluded by the Pope and his Council, that it was both lawful and expedient for the Catholicks to promote that alteration of State. What followed that Conſultation and Sentence, all the World knoweth, and how the Jeſuites went to work, God knoweth; and Time the bringer forth of truth, will let us know. But when the horrible parricide committed in the Kings Sacred Perſon, was ſo univerſally cried down as the greateſt villany that had been

committed in many ages, the Pope commanded all the papers about that queſtion to be gathered and burnt: In obedience to which order, a Roman Catholick in *Paris* was demanded a Copy which he had of thoſe papers; but the Gentleman who had had time to conſider and deteſt the wickedneſſe of that project, refuſed to give it, and ſhewed it to a Proteſtant friend of his; and related to him the whole carriage of this negotiation, with great abhorrency of the practices of the Jeſuites.

In purſuance of that Order from *Rome*, for the pulling down both the Monarch and the Monarchy of *England*, many Jeſuites came over, who took ſeveral ſhapes, to go about their worke, but moſt of them took party in the Army. About thirty of them were met by a Proteſtant Gentleman, between *Roan* and *Diepe*, to whom they ſaid (taking him for one of their party) that they were going into *England*, and would take Armes in the Independant Army, and endeavour to be Agitators.

A Proteſtant Lady living in *Paris* in the time of our late calamities, was perſwaded by a Jeſuit going in ſcarlet, to turn Roman Catholick: When the diſmal newes of the Kings Murther came to *Paris*, this Lady, as all other good Engliſh Subjects, was moſt deeply afflicted with it. And when this Scarlet Divine came to ſee her, and found her melting in tears, about that heavy and common diſaſter; he told her with a ſmiling countenance, that ſhe had no reaſon to lament, but rather to rejoyce, ſeeing that the Catholicks were rid of their greateſt enemy, and that the Catholick Cauſe

was

was much furthered by his death. Upon which the Lady in great anger put the man down the ſtairs: ſaying, If that be your Religion, I have done with you for ever. And God hath given her the grace to make her word good hitherto.

Many intelligent Travellers can tell of the great joy among the Engliſh Convents and Seminaries, about the Kings death, as having overcome their enemy, and done their main work for their ſettlement in *England*; of which they made themſelves ſo ſure, that the *Benedictins* were in great care that the Jeſuites ſhould not get their land: and the Engliſh Nunnes were contending who ſhould be Abbeſſes in *England*.

An underſtanding Gentleman viſiting the Engliſh Friars of *Dunkirke*, put them upon the diſcourſe of the Kings death, and to pump out their ſenſe about it, ſaid that the Jeſuites had laboured very much, to compaſſe that great work: To which they anſwered, that the Jeſuites would engroſſe to themſelves the glory of all great and good works, and of this among others workes; whereas they had laboured as diligently and effectually for it as they. So there was ſtriving for the glory of that atchievement, and the Friars ſhewed themſelves as much Jeſuited as the Jeſuites.

In the height of *Olivers* Tyranny, *Thomas White* Gentleman, a Prieſt, and a right Jeſuite in all his principles about obedience, ſet out a Book entituled, the *Grounds of Obedience and Government*: Wherein he maintains that, *If the people by any circumſtance be de-* Pag. 122. *volved to the State of Anarchy, their promiſe made* (to their expelled Governour) *binds no more. That the people*

are

is remitted by the evil managing or inſufficiency of their Governour, to the force of Nature to provide for themſelves, and not bound by any promiſe made to their Governour. That the Magiſtrate by his miſcarriages abdicateth himſelf from being a Magiſtrate, and proveth a Brigand or Robber inſtead of a Defender. That word *Defender* he writes with a great D. that the Reader may take notice whom he means.

pag. 123, & 124.

pag. 153. *If the Magiſtrate* (ſaith he) *have truly deſerved to be diſpoſſeſſed, or if he be rationally doubted, that he hath deſerved it, and he be actually out of poſſeſſion. In the former caſe, it is certain the ſubject hath no Obligation to hazard for his reſtitution, but rather to hinder it: For ſince it is the common good that both the Magiſtrate and the Subject are to aim at, and clearly out of what is expreſt, it is the common harm to admit again of ſuch a Magiſtrate, every*

pag. 135. *one to his power is bound to reſiſt him. The next caſe is, if he be innocent, and wrongfully depoſed, nay let us add, One who had governed well, and deſerved much of the Commonwealth, yet is he totally diſpoſſeſſed: And ſo that it is plain in theſe circumſtances, It were better for the Common good to ſtay as they are, then to venture the reſtoring him, becauſe of the publick hazard.*

And not to ſet down all his words, and follow his ſtyle, which is affectedly intricate and obſcure, he maintaineth that a diſpoſſeſſed Prince, whether by right or

pag. 136. wrong, *is obliged abſolutely to renounce all Right and Claim to Government; and if he does not, he is worſe then an Infidel.*

pag. 151. He tells us, That Pope *Urban the VIII. publiſhed a Deciſion, That after five yeers quiet poſſeſſion of an Eſtate, the*

the Church was not bound to take notice whether the Title were lawful or no, but acknowledge the Poſſeſſor in Eccleſiaſtical buſineſſe.

That when the *peoples good ſtands on the Poſſeſſors ſide,* pag. 154. *then clearly he begins to gain right and power.* That when the *people think themſelves well, they manifeſtly conſent to the preſent Government. Beſides* (ſaith he) *who can anſwer they ſhall be better by the return of the diſpoſſeſſed party? Surely by common preſumption the gainer is like to defend them better then he who loſt it.* He comes ſo far as to conclude, That if the old Magiſtrate offer to return, he muſt be repulſed by force of Arms. His reaſoning is this: *What if an open enemy ſhould come; could* pag. 157. *or ought the ſubjects joyn againſt him with their new Magiſtrate? If not, the whole Publick muſt periſh: If they may, then their caſe is the ſame againſt their old Magiſtrate, ſince his right ſtood upon the common Peace; and that transferred from him to his Rival by the Title of quiet poſſeſſion.*

This was the Philoſophy of that contemplative Gentleman, when the King lived in exile, and *Oliver* ſate on the Throne. Having ſo well deſerved of the King, he was not long ſince highly recommended to His Majeſty, by a man of great Note: But the King who hath a Royal Inſight into perſons and buſineſſes, ſtopt him with this ſhort anſwer, *No more of that, I know what man he is.*

Father *Bret* was of M. *Whites* opinion, for the Caſtle of *Jerſey* being ſurrendred after that reſiſtance which for the length of ſtanding out, and the height of Valour, ſhall be memorable in all ages: When the Gentlemen who had defended it were preſt to take the Engage-

ment,

ment, contrary to the Articles of their Rendition: That goodly Divine was very earneſt with them at St *Malo* to take it; maintaining, That they were not to acknowledge any Supreme but the prevailing power.

When his Majeſty caſt himſelf upon the Spaniard, the Jeſuitical party thought they had him ſure enough from ever returning: But God diſappointed their hopes, and deceived our fears by his miraculous mercy: For it was the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes, that he ſcaped out of thoſe hands.

I cannot leave un-obſerved, That in the height of the late Tyrannie, two heads of the Gun-powder Traytors that were ſet up upon the Houſe of Lords, were taken down; not by the high winds, but by the ſame zeal which had plotted that Treaſon, and with the leave of Traytors of another feather. We may hear in time that thoſe holy Reliques are ſhrined up in gold, and are working miracles.

CHAP. III

The Doctrine of the Proteſtant Churches about the Obedience of Subjects to the Higher Powers, as it is ſet down in the Publick Confeſſions of the ſeveral National Churches.

TO eaſe the ſearch of thoſe that would know what the Proteſtant Churches hold in the point of obedience to the Magiſtrate: And that ſome pickt periods out of private Authors unfaithfully alledged by their Adverſaries be not taken for the Doctrine of their party

party, I have ſet down here their publick Confeſſions in that point. For whether ſome of thoſe allegations be true or falſe, their word muſt not be taken for the opinion of their Church, before that of the General Confeſſion.

The Auguſtan Confeſſion.

Article XVI. *ſub finem.*

CHriſtiani neceſſario debent obedire præſentibus Magiſtratibus ac legibus, niſi quum jubent peccare. Tunc enim magis debent obedire Deo quam hominibus. Act. 4.

CHriſtians muſt neceſſarily obey the preſent Magiſtrates and Laws, but when they command to ſinne. For then they muſt obey God rather then men. *Act.* 4.

The French Confeſſion.

Article XXXIX.

DEus gladium in Magiſtratuum manus tradidit reprimendis non mirum delictis, non modo contra ſecundam Tabulam ſed etiam contra primam commiſſis. Oportet igitur propter illum hujus ordinis authorem non tantum pati

GOd hath put the ſword in the Magiſtrates hands to repreſſe offences, not onely againſt the Second Table, but alſo againſt the Firſt. We ought therefore for his ſake, who is the Author of this order, not onely

pati ut ii dominentur, quos ille nobis præfecit, ſed etiam omni honore & reverentia eos proſequi, tanquam ejus Legatos & Miniſtros ad legitimum & ſanctum munus obeundum ab ipſo deſignatos.

to ſuffer thoſe to governe whom God hath ſet over us, but alſo yield to them honour and all reſpect, as to his Lieutenants and Miniſters, appointed by him to bear a lawful and holy Office.

Article XL.

Affirmamus ergo parendum eſſe legibus & ſtatutis, ſolvenda tributa & reliqua onera perferenda; ſubjectionis denique jugum voluntarie tolerandum, etiamſi infideles fuerint Magiſtratus, dummodo Dei ſummum imperium integrum & illibatum maneat.

WEe maintain then that we ought to obey lawes and ſtatutes, pay tributes, and bear other burdens of ſubjection, and undergo the yoke with a good will, although the Magiſtrates ſhould be Infidels, ſo that Gods Sovereigne Authority remain entire and inviolate.

The Belgick Confeſſion.

CUncti homines cujuſcunque ſint vel dignitatis, vel conditionis, vel ſtatus, legitimis Magiſtratibus ſubjici debent, illiſque vectigalia ac tributa

ALl men of what dignity quality or ſtate ſoever they be, muſt ſubject themſelves unto the lawful Magiſtrates, pay unto them impoſts

tributa pendere, & eis in omnibus obſequi ac obedire quæ verbo Dei non repugnant: preces etiam pro eis fundere ut eos Deus in omnibus ipſorum actionibus dirigere dignetur, nos vero vitam tranquillam & quietam ſub ipſis cum omni pietate & honeſtate ducere poſſimus.

poſts and tributes, and pleaſe and obey them in all things that are not repugnant unto the Word of God: Alſo pray for them, that God be pleaſed to direct them in all their actions, and that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them, in all piety and honeſty.

The Helvetick Confeſſions.

SIcut Deus ſalutem populi ſui operari vult per Magiſtratum quem mundo veluti patrem dedit, ita ſubditi omnes hoc Dei beneficium in Magiſtratu agnoſcere jubentur. Honorent ergo & revereantur Magiſtratum tanquam Dei Miniſtrum. Ament eum, faveant ei, & orent pro illo tanquam pro patre. Obediant item omnibus ejus juſtis & æquis mandatis. Denique pendant vectigalia atque tributa, & quæ alia hujus generis debita ſunt, fide-

AS God will work the ſafety of his people by the Magiſtrate, whom he hath given to the World as a Father, ſo all ſubjects are commanded to acknowledge that benefit in the Magiſtrate. Let them honour and reverence the Magiſtrate as the Miniſter of God. Let them love and aſſiſt him, and pray for him as their Father. Let them obey him in all his juſt and equitable commands. And let them pay all impoſts and

fideliter atque libenter. Et si salus publica patriæ & justitia requirat, & Magistratus ex necessitate bellum suscipiat, deponant etiam vitam & fundant sanguinem pro salute publicâ Magistratusque, & quidem in Dei nomine, libenter, fortiter & alacriter. Qui enim Magistratui se opponit iram gravem Dei in se provocat.

tributes, and all other dues of that kind, faithfully and willingly. And if the publick safety of the Countrey and Justice require it, and that the Magistrate undertake a Warre by necessity; let them also lay down their lives, and spill their blood for the good of the publick and of the Magistrate, and that in the Name of God; willingly, valiantly, and cheerfully. For he that opposeth himself to the Magistrate, provoketh the heavy wrath of God upon himself.

The Bohemian Confession.

UNiversi & singuli in omnibus quæ Deo tantum non sunt contraria eminenti potestati subjectionem præstent; primum Regiæ Majestati, postea omnibus Magistratibus & qui cum potestate sunt, in quibuscunque muneribus sint collocati, sive

LEt all every one yield subjection in all things that are no wayes contrary to God, unto the higher power; first to the Kings Majestie, and next to all Magistrates, and those that are in Authority, in what Offices soever they be placed, whether

ſive ipſi per ſe boni viri ſint ſive mali; itemque omnibus Adminiſtris & Legatis horum, & ut eos revereantur, colant, & quæcunque eis jure debentur ea omnia ut præſtent, etiam honorem eis tributum, vectigal, ſimilia alia ad quæ pendenda obligantur ut præſtent & pendant.

ther the men be good or bad; as alſo to all their Officers and Deputies. And let them deferre unto them all honour, and performe all things which are due unto them by right; let them pay unto them alſo the homage, impoſts, tribute, and the like, which they are obliged to pay and performe.

The Saxonick Confeſſion.

Magiſtratui Politico ſubditi debent obedientiam ſicut Paulus (docet) *Rom.* 13. *Non ſolum propter iram id eſt metu pœnæ corporalis, qua afficiuntur contumaces ab ipſis Magiſtratibus ſed etiam propter conſcientiam, id eſt contumacia eſt peccatum offendens Deum & avellens conſcientiam a Deo.*

Subjects owe obedience to the Politick Magiſtrate, as St. *Paul* teacheth *Rom.* 13. not onely for wrath, that is for fear of the corporal puniſhment which the Magiſtrates inflict upon the diſobedient, but alſo for conſcience ſake; that is, diſobedience is a ſinne offending God, and ſeparating the conſcience from God.

The

The Suevick Confeſſion.

Noſtri Eccleſiaſtæ obedientiæ quæ exhibetur Magiſtratibus inter primi ordinis bona opera locum dederunt, docentes hoc unumquemque ſtudioſius ſeſe accommodare publicis legibus quo ſincerior fuerit Chriſtianus, fideque ditior. Juxta docent fungi Magiſtratu munus eſſe ſacratiſſimum quod quidem homini contingere poſſit. Unde & factum ſit quod qui gerunt publicam poteſtatem Dii in Scripturis vocentur.

OUr Divines have placed the obedience which is done to the Magiſtrates, among the good works of the firſt rank, teaching that the more a Chriſtian is ſincere and rich in faith, the more careful ought he to be to ſubject himſelf unto the publick Laws. They likewiſe teach that to be a Magiſtrate, is the moſt Sacred Office that a man may have. Whence alſo it cometh, that they that bear a publick Authoriry, are called Gods in the Scriptures.

After all theſe, the Engliſh Confeſſion ſhall ſpeak laſt, to give the Sentence; as the Apoſtle St. *James* ſpake the laſt in the Synod of the Apoſtles at *Ieruſalem*, becauſe he was the Biſhop.

Article

Article XXXVII.

Of the Civil Magiſtrate.

THe Kings Majeſty hath the chief power in this Realme of England, *and other his Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realme, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Civil, in all Cauſes, doth appertain: And it is not, nor ought to be ſubject to any forreigne Juriſdiction.*

Where we attribute to the Kings Majeſty the chief Government, by which Titles we underſtand the minds of ſome ſlanderous perſons are offended, we give not to our Princes the Miniſtring either of Gods Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions alſo ſet forth by Elizabeth *Our Queen, do moſt plainly teſtifie; but that onely Prerogative which we ſee to have been given alwayes to all Godly Princes in Holy Scripture, by God himſelf, that is, that they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the Civil Sword the ſtubborn and evil doers.*

The Biſhop of Rome *hath no Juriſdiction in this Realm of* England.

The Lawes of the Realm may puniſh Chriſtian men with death, for heinous and grievous crimes.

It

It is lawful for Christian men, at the Commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the Wars.

The XXXV. Article appoints Homilies against Rebellion to be read in Churches. The summary of these Homilies, and the whole drift of them, is contained in these words, *In reading of the holy Scriptures we shall finde in very many and almost infinite places, as well of the Old Testament as of the New; That Kings and Princes, as well the evil as the good, do reigne by Gods Ordinance, and that subjects are bound to obey them.* And that Doctrine of the Church of *England*, which is that of the Word of God, is fully demonstrated in these godly Homilies, published and enjoyned to be read in Churches by Royal Authority.

First part page 2. of the first Homily against wilful disobedience and rebellion.

CHAP. IV.

Proving by the Bulls and Decrees of Popes, That the Doctrine of the Roman Court in the point of Obedience to Sovereignes, is a Doctrine of Rebellion.

HItherto we have stood upon the Defensive, and have with no great labour wiped off the false and foul aspersions of Rebellion cast upon the Doctrine of the Protestant Churches: Let us try whether we can use the Sword as well as the Buckler. And we will use no other then the Popes own Sword; For as *David*

vid ſaid of *Goliah*'s ſword, *There is none like that, give it me:* In this Combate the enemies ſword is the right weapon, none like it. The Adverſary to diſgrace our Doctrine, hath objected to us ſome paſſages of our Authors, moſt of them falſe or wreſted, and ſome actions of perſons of the Proteſtant party. But though he had proved all theſe to be true, he had done no harm to our Doctrine, which is not built upon private opinions, or upon private or publick actions. He ſhould have taken our Confeſſions in hand, and Indicted them of rebellious Tenets, if he could have found any: Or finding none, he ſhould have given glory to God, and confeſſed the Truth of God with us.

But if I bring him the Bulls of his Popes, and their Decrees, can he ſcape as we do, when he urgeth us with maxims of *Buchanan* or *Goodman?* Can he ſay, *The Pope ſpeaks Treaſon, and preſcribes Rebellion*, as we ſay of theſe men; and *my faith is not tyed to his authority?* Can he as freely go off from the Popes judgement, as we do from the beſt of our party, when their Tenet is repreſented to us aberring from the rule of Gods Word, and diſſenting from the Articles of Religion, conſented unto by the Provincial Convocations of the Church? We will then object to him and his party that which they cannot diſown, unleſs they diſown their Faith and Religion, ſince their Faith and Religion depend upon the Popes Decrees; and that ſo ſtrongly, and with ſuch a ſpirit of deluſion, that the moſt peſtilent opinions paſs with them for Evangelical Truths, and the moſt abominable actions for patterns of Holineſs, if they be once marked with that ſtamp; according to *Bellar-*

mines ſentence, which no Romaniſt hath yet diſallowed for any thing I know. *If the Pope did erre in commanding vices, or prohibiting vertues, the Church ſhould be obliged to believe that vices are good, and vertues evil, unleſs ſhe would ſpeak againſt Conſcience.* And to the ſame purpoſe he affirmeth, *That in good ſenſe Chriſt hath given to St. Peter the power to make ſin to be no ſin, and that which is no ſin, to be ſin.* And he takes it for granted, That the power which Chriſt hath given to St. *Peter*, he hath *ipſo facto* given it to the Pope his Succeſſor. If then we prove that ſedition, rebellion, and murther of Kings, is juſtified, promoted, yea and commanded by that *Head of their Faith*, the Papiſts muſt either approve it as good and holy, or ceaſe to be Papiſts, and learn to have the Faith of the Lord Jeſus Chriſt the Lord of glory, without reſpect of perſons.

Bellarm. lib. 4. de Pontifice, ca. 5. Si Papa erraret in præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Eccleſia credere vitia eſſe bona, & virtutes malas, niſi vellet contra conſcientiam loqui.

Idem cap. 31. in Barklaium. In bono ſenſu dedit Chriſtus Petro poteſtatem faciendi de peccato non peccatum, & de non peccato peccatum.

Since the Roman Church ſtands much upon her Antiquity, we will begin by the ancienteſt example of approving the murther of Kings that can be charged upon the Roman See. It is that of *Gregory* the I. who hearing that *Phocas* had ſlain the Emperour *Mauritius* his Liege Lord, having firſt killed his children before his face, and that he had invaded the Empire, writ a gratulatory Epiſtle to that monſter, where theſe words are found. *We are glad that the benignity of your Piety hath attained to the Imperial Dignity: Let the heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad, and let the people of the*

Ann. Chr. 611.

Greg. 1. lib. 11. Epiſt. 36. Benignitatem pietatis veſtræ ad Imperiale faſtigium perveniſſe gaudemus: Lætentur Cœli, & exultet Terra, & de

the whole Commonwealth be joyful for your gracious deeds.

benignis actibus veſtris univerſæ Reip. populus hilareſcat.

The next example ſhall be that of *Gregory* the II. who rebelled againſt his Sovereigne, the Emperour *Leo Iſaurus*, and made *Rome* and the Roman Dutchy do the ſame: And while the Emperour was ſore afflicted with the wars of the Saracens in the Eaſt, he made himſelf Lord of that part of his Maſters Dominions in *Italy*; for which *Sigonius* giveth an admirable reaſon. *That Rome and the Roman Dutchy were loſt by the Grecians, and got by the Pope of Rome, by reaſon of their wicked hereſie.* A ſtrange kind of penance from a Paſtor, to turn the ſinner out of his houſe, and poſſeſs himſelf of it. That wicked hereſie of *Leo Iſaurus* was, That he prohibited the adoration of Images, and pulled them down every where: For that Hereſie and Impiety, the holy Father *Gregory* the II. impoſed this penance upon the Emperour; He made him loſe his Eſtate, and himſelf ſeized upon it. This is the beginning of the Popes Temporal Principality. This is the Title whereby he holds *Rome* and the Territory of it to this day; even plain Rebellion, and Tyrannical Invaſion of his Sovereigns Eſtate and Dominion.

Ann. Chr. 726.

Sigonius Hiſt. de Regno Italiæ, lib. 3.

Ita Roma Romanuſque Ducatus à Græcis ad Romanum Pontificem propter nefandam eorum hæreſim impietatemq; pervenit.

The next Succeſſor of *Gregory* the II. was *Gregory* the III. of whom *Platina* writeth thus.

This Pope as ſoon as he attained to the Papal Degree, by the conſent of the Roman Clergie, deprived Leo *the* III. *Emperour of* Conſtantinople, *both of his Empire, and of the Communion of the faithful, be-*

Platina in Greg. III.

Hic ſtatim ubi Pontificatum iniit Cleri Romani conſenſu *Leonem* tertium Imperatorem *Conſtantinopolitanum* Imperio ſimul & communione Fidelium privat, quod ſanctas Ima-

gines è ſacris ædibus abraſiſſet. *cauſe he had ſwept away the holy Images out of the Churches.* Obſerve that *Platina* that writ about the year 1472. at *Rome*, ſpeaks according to the great intereſt of that time and place, which was, That an Emperour excommunicated, was *ipſo facto* deprived of his Empire : Whereas the Popes that lived 700 years before, either had not that ambition, or wanted the courage to depoſe Emperours. But the Popes that reigned two or three hundred yeers ago, made that power of depoſing Princes, as ancient as they could by their Hiſtorians.

The ſame muſt be ſaid of the pretended depoſition of *Chilperick* King of *France* by Pope *Zachary*, the next Succeſſor of *Gregory* the III. Cardinal *Perron* ſets forth that example to fright Kings, in his Oration before the three States of *France*, and ſaith that the Pope abſolved the people of *France* from their Allegiance to that King, for which he alledgeth the teſtimony of two new Authors, *Paulus Æmilius* and *Du Tillet*. But *Ado* Biſhop of *Vienna* in his Chronicle ſaith, *That the French by the counſel of Embaſſadors, and of Pope* Zachary, *eſtabliſhed* Pepin *their King.* And *Trithemius* in his *Abridgement of Annals* ſpeaks thus : Chilperick *King of the French, is put out from the Kingdome, as incapable to reigne, by the common conſent of the great perſons of the Kingdome, Pope* Zachary *giving them counſel.*

But although the Champions of the Court of *Rome* aſcribe to theſe ancient Popes that power which they never exerciſed or pretended to. That aſſertion of theirs is very favourable to my purpoſe, which is to ſhew that the Roman Court is, and delights to be the Troubler

bler of Chriſtendome by that uſurpation of depoſing Kings, and abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance: For the more they ſtrive for it, and labour to root it in Antiquity, the more they ſhew the ſtirring of Rebellions to be eſſential and original unto their wicked Throne.

After *Zachary* followed *Stephen* the II. who ſet on *Pepin* to expel the Exarcks out of *Italy*, and obtained of him the Exarchat for himſelf, though belonging to the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* his true Sovereigne: So there was both Rebellion and Robbery in that proceeding. Wherein he followed the ſteps of *Gregory* the II. who thirty yeers before had robbed the Emperour his Maſter of the City of *Rome*, and the Roman Dutchy. *Platina.*

Yet in theſe Dominions the Emperours of the Weſt, (which then begun again) kept the Imperial power. [a] *Platina* affirmeth, That *when* Lothary *came into* Italy, *he choſe Magiſtrates to judge the people of* Rome: For in the partage between the ſons of *Lewis* the Meek, *Italy* and *Rome* fell to the ſhare of *Lothary* the eldeſt. But above all, the teſtimony of *Sigonius* is expreſs, who ſpeaking of the poſture of *Italy* in the yeer 973. ſaith, That *the Pope kept* Rome, Ravenna, *and the reſt of his Territories, rather by Authority then Soveraignty; becauſe the Cities look'd upon the Pope as a Prince of the Commonwealth, but upon the King as their Soveraigne Lord, and to him they payd Tribute, and yeelded Obedience.* It appear-

[a] *Platina in vita Eugenii II. Lotharius* in *Italiam* veniens Magiſtratum delegit qui populo Romano jus diceret.

Sigonius de Regno Italiæ, lib. 7. ann. 973. Pontifex Romam, Ravennam, & ditiones reliquas tenebat authoritate magis quam imperio: quod Civitates Pontificem ut Reip. Principem, Regem vero ut ſummum Dominum intuerentur, atque ei tributa obſequiaque præberent.

eth

eth by the Hiſtories of *Volaterranus*, *Blondus*, and *Sabellicus*, that it is but about two hundred yeers ſince the Pope is abſolute Maſter in *Rome*. And for the Spiritual power, *Sigonius* affirmeth, That Pope *Hadrian* the I. yeilded to the Emperour *Charlemagne*, the power of ordering the Church, and electing the Pope, which was ſo approved by Pope *Leo* the VIII. eightſcore yeers after, that [a] he ſaid that it was not without cauſe that *Hadrian* the firſt had done ſo.

It was about the year 800.

[a] *Sigonius de reg. Ital. ad an. 963.*

Non ſine cauſa *Adrianum* I. *Carolo* magno tribuiſſe ut Eccleſiam ordinaret, & Pontificem eligeret.

Platina in Paſchalis I.

Paſchalis nulla interpoſita Imperatoris authoritate Pontifex creatur: Hanc ob rem ubi Pontificatum iniit ſtatim Legatos ad *Ludovicum* miſit, qui ejus rei culpam omnem in Clerum & populum rejicerent, quod ab his vi coactus eſſet pontificium munus obire. Accepta hac ſatisfactione *Ludovicus* reſpondit populo & Clero, majorum inſtituta & pacta ſervanda eſſe, caverent ne deinceps Majeſtatem lederent.

Yet Pope *Paſchalis* the I. *got into the Roman See without the Emperours Authority and conſent*, (as his Predeceſſor *Stephen* the IV. had done before him) *and then ſent to* Lewis *the Meek to purge himſelf, and caſt the fault upon the importunity of the Clergie and the people. The Emperour accepted the excuſe, but ſaid withal, That the Clergie and the people ſhould no more offend the Emperours Majeſty in that ſort.* Let it be then remembred, that the Popes power is an uſurpation, firſt upon the Emperours of the Eaſt, and ſince upon thoſe of the Weſt; that it be not found ſtrange that his power having begun by Rebellion and Uſurpation, is maintained in the following ages by anſwerable means, and liveth by the ſame elements of which it was compoſed. This alſo will give an evidence to the judicious Reader of the true cauſe why the Popes had ſuch a long and pertinacious quarrel with the Emperours, and thundred continually upon

upon them with Excommunications, created to them enemies, and tore the Empire with Factions; even that they might ſtrip the Emperour of all his right in *Italy*, make themſelves independent both for the Spiritual and the Temporal, and raiſe their greatneſſe upon the fall of the Empire. So the many examples which I ſhall bring of excommunicating and depoſing of Emperours, and abſolving their ſubjects from their Allegiance, ſhall lay a double guilt of rebellion upon the Popes, both as commanding rebellion abroad, and practiſing rebellion at home againſt their lawful Sovereigns.

The firſt Pope that offered to excommunicate the King of *France*, was *Gregory* the IV. who joyned with the Sonnes of *Lewis* the meek, who had conſpired againſt their Father. But the French Biſhops threatned to excommunicate him, ſo he deſiſted. *Sigebert. An.* 832.

The firſt Pope that attempted to draw his ſpiritual Sword againſt the Emperour, was that honeſt man *Gregory* the VII, called before *Hildebrand*, who excommunicated the Emperour *Henry* the IV, but depoſed him before. The Empire he translated to *Rudolph* Duke of *Suevia*. But you muſt underſtand that though he gave him the Empire, he did not deliver it. For *Rudolph* was ſlain in battel by the Emperour. *Rome* was taken by the Emperour, and *Gregory* died for grief. The laſt words of *Rudolph* are notable: Seeing his hand cut off, he ſaid to the Biſhops that had made him take armes. You ſee my hand which I had lift up to God with an Oath of fidelity to my Sovereigne, now puniſht for fighting traiterously againſt him by your inſtigation. It ſeemes that *Anno circiter.* 1080.

Platina in Greg. VII. Imperatorem ipſum anathemate notavit, privatum prius omni Regia adminiſtratione.

Marianus Scotus. Sigebertus. Vſtergenſis.

that the Popes command could not cleer his conſcience of the crime of rebellion.

Platina. Sigebertus.

Urban the II. did alſo excommunicate and perſecute that worthy Emperour *Henry* the IV. This is that *Urban* who made that goodly Decree, That an Oath made to an excommunicated perſon, muſt not be kept. The quarrel which made theſe Popes excommunicate the Emperour was about collation of Benefices.

Urban II. Cauſa 15. q. 6. Can. Iuratos. Iuratos milites Hugoni Comiti ne ipſi quandiu excommunicatus eſt ſerviant prohibemus.

Pope *Paſchal* the II. who ſucceeded *Urban*, made that Emperours Sonne to take armes againſt his Father. And that ungracious Sonne was ſuch an obedient Sonne to his Holineſſe, that he gave battel to his Father: Who being overcome, and in his enemies hands, was depoſed in a Synod held at *Mentz*, by the Popes command to that purpoſe, and the Crowne and other Imperial ornaments, were taken violently from him by three Biſhops, of *Mentz*, of *Collen*, and of *Worms*, and given to his Sonne *Henry* the V. The old Emperour being ſoon after dead for grief, the Pope would not ſuffer his Sonne to bury him, but he lay five years unburied. Theſe are the holy actions of him that cannot erre, and *hath all right ſhrined up in the cloſet of his breaſt.*

Aventinus. Otho Friſingenſis.

Platina in Paulo II.

It is worth relating how that *Paſchal* ſped by theſe wicked acts. The new Emperour came to *Rome* to be crowned by him. There the quarrel was renewed about collation of Benefices. And becauſe the people of *Rome* roſe in a mutiny againſt him, he made a great ſlaughter of them, and took his Holineſſe priſoner; uſing

Baronius An. Chr. 1111.

uſing *Iacobs* words, *I will not let thee go, till thou haſt given me thy bleſſing.* That bleſſing was the yielding of the Collation of Benefices, which *Paſchal* granted and confirmed it by Oath. But he revoked that Grant as ſoon as he was free again, although the Oath was taken by the Altar, where *Paſchal* dividing the Hoſt between the Emperour and him; uſed theſe words, which *Baronius* relates: *Sicubi pars hæc vivificî corporis diviſa eſt, ita diviſus ſit à regno Chriſti qui pactum hoc violare tentaverit. As this part of the vivifying body is divided, ſo let him be divided from Chriſts Kingdome, that will go about to break this Covenant.* But what! the Pope abſolveth others from their Oath, much more himſelf, when he liſteth.

Obſerve that the Roman Church hath altered her belief in that point, for they hold now that the body of Chriſt in the Sacrament cannot be divided.

This horrible action of a Son giving battel to his Father, and keeping him priſoner till he die, through hardneſſe and anguiſh, is highly commended by *Baronius.* Why? the Son did it in obedience to the Pope, who would not pardon his Father, no not after his death. Theſe are *Baronius* his words; In this action, *the Son is no more to be condemned, then if a pious Son ſhould bind his Father, who is fallen mad.* And again, *Who can deny that it was the higheſt kind of piety, to have ſhewed himſelf cruel in this caſe?* Here is rebellion in the height, of a ſubject againſt his Sovereigne: Here is a moſt horrible parricide, of a Son armed againſt his Father: both commanded by the Pope, and at his command executed. And both praiſed and recommended by a Jeſuite and a famous Cardinal, as a pattern for poſterity.

Baron. loco citato. Nihil habes in quo damnes filium, magis quam ſi inſanienti furentique pius filius vincula injiciat patri.

Quis negare poteſt ſummum fuiſſe hoc pietatis genus?

Calixtus the II. his next Succeſſor but one, excommunicated *Henry* the V. and forced him to compound.

Frinſingenſis. Platina.

How the Pope could be ſo bold abroad, being ſo weak at home, it is a wonder to me; for the *Romans* rebelled againſt *Innocent* the II. and created a Magiſtrate which they called *Patritius*, to whom they deferred the Government, whereby they broke his heart, and made him die for ſorrow. And when Pope *Lucius* the II. went about to put down that new Magiſtrate, he was anſwered, that the Senate would recover that right which the Popes had invaded by the help of *Charlemayne*. *Lucius* called upon the Emperour *Conrad* for help, who either could not, or would not help him. *Lucius* raiſeth Souldiers, and aſſaults the Capitol, but in that aſſault he was ſo bepelted with ſtones, that he died few dayes after.

And although Pope *Eugenius* the II. came to ſome compoſition with the *Romans*, yet both he and his Succeſſors, *Anaſtaſius* the IV. and *Hadrian* the IV. were kept under by them, and *Hadrian* was in the end forced to flie from *Rome*. Yet the ſame *Hadrian* ſuffered the Emperour *Frederick* the I. to hold his Stirrup, and quarrelled with him for taking the left inſtead of the right.

Helmodi Chron. lib. 1. cap. 81.

That brave Emperour was more courſly uſed yet by the next Pope *Alexander* the III. who trod upon his neck when he ſtooped to kiſs his Holineſſes Foot, uſing theſe words of the Pſalm 91. *Thou ſhalt tread upon the Lion and Adder, the young Lion and the Dragon ſhalt thou trample under feet.*

And when the Emperour ſaid, *Non tibi ſed Petro*, This ſubmiſſion I do not to thee, but to *Peter*; the Pope

Pope treading upon him again, ſaid, *Et mihi & Petro*, Both to me and to *Peter*.

Such was that Popes humility. So did he obey Saint Peters *command. Submit your ſelves to every ordinance of man for the Lords ſake.* The Pope had before excommunicated *Frederick*; and when he came to ſubmit and reconcile himſelf unto the Pope, his Holineſs gave him this wellcome.

This ſo memorable paſſage, ſo known and ſo odious to all the World, is left out for ſhame by *Platina* and his Commentator *Onuphrius*. And all that *Platina* ſaith of that meeting is, that Frederick *kiſt the Popes feet in the Porch of Saint* Mark *of* Venice, *and then they went together to the great Altar*. But it is atteſted by twenty Hiſtorians alledged by *Hieronymo Bardo* in his *Hiſtoria Navalis*. The great Juriſconſult * *Duarenus* relateth it with great deteſtation of ſo great a pride and tyranny. For which *Joſeph Stevan* || who writ at *Rome* to *Gregory* the XIII. *of kiſſing the Popes feet*, checks *Duarenus*, ſaying that Pope *Alexander* the III. *trod the Emperour* Frederick *under foot, not onely as ſalt which hath loſt its ſavour, but as an horrible wild beaſt.* And *Otho Friſingenſis* both relates it and commends it, * and ſaith, That the *Popes have the power to do ſo much, when they ſee the tyranny of Princes, or that faith is violated, or the dignity of the Church imbezelled.* So though the Hiſtory were not as it is, moſt undoubted-

Platina in Alexandro III.

* *Duarenus lib.* 1. *de ſacris Eccleſiæ Miniſteriis, cap.* 2.

|| Ioſeph Stevan. *Epiſt. ad* Gregor. XIII. *de oſculo pedum Papæ.*

Iure meritoque in Religionis & Eccleſiæ infenſiſſimum hoſtem *Fredericum* Barbaroſſam, non ut in ſalem infatuatum quem jubet Chriſtus pedibus proterere ſed potius ut horrendam belluam calcibus inſultavit.

* *Otho Friſing. lib.* 5. *cap.* 14. Quod factum ſummis liberum eſt ſacerdotibus, cum Principum tyrannidem, aut violatam fidem aut Eccleſiæ imminutam dignitatem vident.

ly true, the approving and exalting of the fact in the Court of *Rome* makes that Court as guilty, as if it had been done. But it was done, and as bad was done by other Popes.

Pope *Celeſtin* the III. gave *Conſtantia* a Nunne in marriage to the Emperour *Henry* the VI. and gave him for her dowry the Kingdome of both the *Sicilies*, upon condition he ſhould expell *Tancred*, who was poſſeſs'd of the Kingdome. Hence a bloody War between *Henry* the VI. and *Tancred*. It is ordinary to the Pope to give that which is none of his. When the Pope giveth a Kingdome from a Prince that enjoyeth it, he commands together the people to reſiſt him, making a ſport to ſpill their blood, and damn their ſouls.

Platina Uſpergenſis.

Baronius commends very much that *Popes* behaviour in the Crowning of the Emperour *Henry* the VI. and his Wife, thus related in the Annalls of *Rogerius*.

Annal. Roger. an. 1191.

Sedebat Dominus Papa in Cathedra Pontificali tenens coronam auream inter pedes ſuos; & Imperator inclinato capite recepit coronam, & imperator ſimiliter de pedibus Domini Papæ: Dominus autem Papa ſtatim percuſſit cum pede ſuo coronam Imperatoris, & dejecit eam in terram, ſignificans quod ipſe poteſtatem ejiciendi eum ab Imperio habet, ſi ille demeruerit.

The Pope was ſitting in his pontifical chair holding an Imperial golden Crown between his feet; and the Emperour bowing his head, received the Crown, and the Empreſs likewiſe by the feet of the Pope. And the Pope preſently hit the Emperours Crown, and kick'd it down to the ground, thereby ſignifying that he had power to caſt him down from the Empire if he deſerved it.

Baronius having related this, amplifieth it with this morality

‖ *Baron. Tom.* 12. *Anno* 1191. *ſect.* 10.

Ut fixum menti [*Cæſaris*] hæreret, nempe dare, cuſtodire, conſervare, & auferre, ſi cauſa exigeret, imperium eſſe

‖ *That it might remain fixed in the Emperours mind, that it lieth in the Popes pleaſure to give, keep, preſerve, and take away the Empire if there be cauſe for*

for it, he would admoniſh him with ſuch an example.

in voluntate Romani Pontificis, ejusmodi voluit commonere eum exemplo.

Could the Devil have ſet up pride to a higher pin? to put the Emperours Crown at his feet, as a foot-ſtool for him to tread upon; put the Crown on the Emperours head with his feet, as an office too low for his hands: and then with his foot kick'd it down, as having a quarrell againſt the Imperiall Crown, and together a contempt for it. This and the treading upon the Emperours neck were *ſignificant ceremonies* with a witneſs. And what more effectual courſe could have been taken to raiſe rebellion in all the States of Chriſtendome, then thus to blaſt the reſpect of Majeſty? For thereby all Nations were taught, that their Princes were not Sovereigns, but the Popes Vaſſalls and Liegemen: That themſelves were not their Kings Subjects, but the Popes, who could kick down their Crowns when he liſted; and that when that ſupreme Head ſhall command it, the Feet, that is the inferiour Members of the State, muſt make Foot-balls of the Crowns of Emperours and Kings.

After *Celeſtin* the III. came *Innocent* the III. as proud, but more active then he. *England* hath reaſon to remember this Pope. For he excommunicated King *John*, depoſed him, abſolved his Subjects from their allegiance to him, and caſt an Interdict upon *England*, which laſted ſix years. All which time no Divine Service was ſaid in the Kingdome, but in ſome priviledged places, no Sacrament was adminiſtred, and no corps buried in Conſecrated Ground. The Kingdome of *England* he gave to *Philip Auguſt* of *France*, if he could take

take it; and that by a formal order, thus related by *Matthew Paris*; *The Pope by the counſell of the Cardinalls, Biſhops, and other prudent men gave a definitive ſentence, that the King ſhould be put down from his Throne: For the execution of that Sentence, the Pope writ to the moſt potent King of the French*, Philip, *that for the remiſſion of his ſins he ſhould take that labour upon him.* A new way for that King to get the remiſſion of his ſins, to invade his neighbours eſtate. As in the age of our Fathers Pope *Sixtus* the V. gave nine years of true indulgence to all the French that would bear Arms againſt their King *Henry* the III. Thus the remiſſion of ſins purchaſed by the blood of the Son of God, and preſented by his Goſpell to all that repent and believe, is by the Pope given as a reward of Invaſion and Rebellion.

Matth. Paris in vita Reg. Johan. Papa ex conſilio Cardinalium, Epiſcoporum, & aliorum virorum prudentium, ſententialiter definivit ut Rex a ſolio deponeretur. Ad hujus quoque ſententiæ executionem ſcripſit Dominus Papa potentiſſimo Regi Francorum *Philippo*, quatenus in remiſſionem peccatorum ſuorum hunc laborem aſſumeret.

Matthew Paris writes, that, The Pope having gotten the Kingdome of *England* to himſelf (to his thinking) ſent to *Philip Auguſt*, to enjoyn him to be reconciled with King *John*, elſe he would put *France* to Interdict. *Philip* anſwered, that he feared not his ſentence, and that it belonged not to the Church of *Rome* to pronounce a ſentence againſt the King of *France*.

It is a long and a ſad ſtory, how King *John* was perſecuted by Pope *Innocent* the III. his Barons made to riſe againſt him, his Neighbours to fall upon him, his Clergy to revile him, and his people to deſpiſe him; till that unlucky King was brought to ſuch an extremity, that to buy his peace he gave his Kingdome to the Pope,

Pope, and yet could not get his peace that way. The Gold which he laid at the Legats feet in ſign of ſubjection, the Legat trod under his feet in ſcorn, yet took it in his hand after, ſo great was his clemency.

What a cruel tyranny did the following Popes exerciſe over his Son *Henry* the III. in his long and unfortunate Reign, inſulting over his weakneſs and ſuperſtition? How licentiously did theſe Wolves tear and raven in *England*, while the publick cry of the oppreſſed people repreſented unto the King, that his *Kingdome was become like a Vine, whoſe fence is pulled down, and rooted out by the wild Bear.* *Matth. Paris in vita Hen. III.*

Theſe Hiſtories which make the uſurpations of the Roman Court to be abhorred, yet are ſet forth by the Jeſuite *Petra Sancta* as examples for all Princes; And he would have all Kings to imitate King *John* and *Henry* the III. of *England* in their ſubjection to the Pope. He could not have choſen more frequent examples to dehort them from it, conſidering the gulf of miſeries which they ſunk into, by their ſtooping under the Popes tyranny. But they have more reaſon to follow the example of the next King, brave *Edward* the I. who recovered his own and his Kingdomes liberty, by expelling all the Roman Exactours out of *England*; and by his contempt of *Rome* reigned peaceably and glorious. For the Pope, who in the Reigns of his Father and Grandfather was thundering continually, and cudgelling both King and people, never ſpake a word againſt this ſtout King. *Petra Sancta Not. in Epiſt. ad Balzac.*

Pope *Innocent* the III. played with his Spiritual Sword in *Germany* as well as in *England*, for he excommunicated

Platina in *Innocent* III. Otho iram Pontificis in ſe concitavit à quo & anathemate notatur & Imperii *titulis* privatur.

municated the Emperour *Otho* the IV. *and deprived him of the titles of the Empire*, as *Platina* ſpeaks warily, for Popes cannot take away Kingdomes, but onely deny to acknowledge the *titles*.

The Emperour *Fredericke* the II. was worſe uſed by the Popes, though much deſerving of the Roman See, to which he had given the County of *Fundi*. For he was excommunicated and depoſed by Pope *Honorius* the III. and again by *Gregory* the IX. for that Monſter of pride and greedineſſe, when the Emperour was gone on his errand into *Paleſtina*, anathematized him, raiſed him enemies in *Germany*, by his preaching Friars, and taking advantage of his abſence, ſent an army into *Appulia*, and ſeiſed upon the Emperours Lands. Twice he ſhewed himſelf reconciled with the Emperour, and twice again broke with him, and excommunicated him; but with ill ſucceſſe to himſelf: For by all theſe Excommunications and Depoſitions the Emperour thrived; who after a long patience fell upon the Pope; made his Interdicts laid upon the Empire, to be hiſſed out; and ſo diſtreſſed the Pope by his armies, that he died for wrath and ſorrow.

Platina.

Matth. Paris in Vita *Hen.* III. *Reg. Angl. Vſpergenſis. Trithemius*

The ſame Emperour was alſo excommunicated and perſecuted by Pope *Innocent* the IV. And when after the Emperours death, the armes of his Son proſpered in *Italy*, he gave the Kingdome of *Sicily* to *Richard* brother to *Henry* the III. of *England*; *Richard* not acquainted with the Popes giving of Kingdomes, asketh that the Forts and the Treaſure and Hoſtages be given to him. Herein wiſer (if he had ſtayed there) then

Platina. Matth. Paris.

others,

others, who accept that which the Pope cannot deliver.

I will paſſe by many Popes that came after, who ſent their Excommunications no further then the Kingdome of *Naples* and *Sicily*, and filled *Italy* with factions, that they might fiſh in troubled waters: Let us fix our contemplation a little upon that high pattern of Pontifical vertues, *Boniface* the VIII. upon whom *Platina* beſtoweth this Character. *That* Boniface *who ſtudied to give terrour rather then religion, unto Emperours, Kings, Princes, and Nations, and laboured to give and take away Kingdomes, drive men away, and bring them again, according to his pleaſure. One that was thirſty of goods ſcraped up from all places, more then can be expreſt.*

Platina in *Bonifacio.*

Bonifacius ille qui Imperatoribus, Regibus, Principibus, Nationibus, Populis, terrorem potius quam religionem injicere conabatur; Quique dare regna & auferre, pellere homines ac reducere, pro arbitrio conabatur; aurum undique conquiſitum plus quam dici poteſt ſitiens.

The paſſages between him and the French King *Philip* the Fair, are known, yet perhaps not to all. This is the Hiſtory in ſhort: This Pope having a grudge againſt him about the Collation of Benefices, and deſiring to pick a quarrel, ſent to him the Biſhop of *Pamiers*, to command him to undertake an expedition to the Holy Land, and to threaten him if he refuſed. The Biſhop did that errand ſo malapertly, that the King offended, committed him to priſon. The Pope angry, demanded the Biſhop again, and had him; and ſent this Letter to the King. *Fear God, and keep his Commandements, We will have thee to know that thou art our Subject, both for the Spiritual and the Temporal. That no Collation of Benefices and Prebends belongs to*

Stella. Hiſtoire de France.

thee. And if thou haſt the cuſtody of any of them that are vacant, we will have thee to reſerve the fruits for their Succeſſors. And if thou haſt granted any (Benefices) *We declare all ſuch Collations null, and as far as they are executed* de facto, *We revoke them. Thoſe that believe otherwiſe, we hold them for Hereticks.* Theſe goodly Letters being brought to *Paris* by a Legate, were pluckt from him by the Kings Council and Judges, and caſt into the fire by the Earle of *Artois*. And to them the King returned this Anſwer, Philip *by the Grace of God, King of the French, to* Boniface, *calling himſelf Sovereign Pontife; but little greeting, or rather none at all. Let thy moſt egregious folly know that in temporal things we are ſubject to no man. That the Collation of Churches and Prebends belongs unto us by Royal Right, and converting the ſame to our uſe, during the vacancy. That the Collation by us made, and to be made, ſhall be valid; and that in vertue of the ſame, we will couragiouſly defend the poſſeſſors. Thoſe that hold otherwiſe, We hold to be idiots, and bereaved of their ſenſe.*

The Pope inraged excommunicates the King, but none durſt be the publiſher or bearer of that Bull. The King aſſembleth at *Paris* his Knights, Barons, and Prelates, and asketh them of whom they hold their Lordſhips, and the temporal of their Eccleſiaſtical preferments. All anſwer that they hold them of the King, not of the Pope, whom they charge with hereſie and many crimes, The Pope aſſembleth a General Council (as *Platina* calleth it) though it was gathered out of few Countries) and by a Decree of that Council, depriveth *Philip* of his Kingdome, and giveth it to the Emperour

Platina.

perour *Albert*; and laboureth to arme *Germany* and *Netherlands* againſt *France*. But that vigorous King ſent *Nogaret* into *Italy*, who by the help of *Sciarra Columna*, whoſe Family *Boniface* had cruelly oppreſt, got two hundred horſe, and ſurpriſed the Pope at *Anagnia*, whom they mounted upon a poor jade, and brought him priſoner to *Rome*, where he was ſo ill beloved, that no body ſtirred to reſcue him. With this adverſity his proud heart was broken, and he died five and thirty dayes after.

Benedict the XI. who was elected in his place, abſolved *Philip* preſently. And his Succeſſor *Clement* the V. to that Abſolution added a complemental Bull, in which *Philip* is exalted as a pious and religious Prince, and well deſerving of the Church; as it may be ſeen *Extravagante Meruit*. For the Popes eaſily pardon the ſins of thoſe whom they fear. Truly that vertuous King hath left a fair leſſon to poſterity, by what wayes the favour of that Holy See ought to be purchaſed and preſerved. And ſince *Lewis* the XIV. now reigning is taking the like courſe with the Pope, he is like to be in time the favourite of his Holineſſe, and to obtain from him another Bull *meruit*; declaring how well that eldeſt Son of the Church hath deſerved from the Church his Mother.

As it may be ſeen *Extravagante Meruit*.

Pope *Iohn* XXIII. angry that *Ludovicus Bavarus* had taken upon him the adminiſtration of the Empire, before he got his leave, refuſed to crown him, though many times deſired by him. The Emperour did nothing the leſſe continue his power and imperial care both in *Germany* and *Italy*, and going to *Rome* (the Pope

Platina Hieronymus Marius.

then ſitting at *Avignon*) was crowned by the joynt conſent of Clergy, Nobles, and People. Upon which he was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire as far as words could do it, by this Pope. And the ſame Sentence was confirmed againſt the Emperour, by the Succeſſor of *John*, *Benedict* the XII.

Clement the VI. who came next after, was more *inclement* then his predeceſſors, in perſecuting *Ludovicus Bavarus*. For he excommunicated all the Biſhops that adhered to him; and ſet Bulls at the doors of all the Churches, to raiſe rebellion againſt him. And when the Emperour would ſubmit to him, and ſue for peace, he required ſuch conditions of him, as neither he, nor the Princes of the Empire, would or could yield unto, as that he ſhould depoſe himſelf, put all his Eſtate, and his own Sons in the Popes power, and promiſe to undertake no more any thing, without the Popes leave. Theſe conditions being rejected by the Emperour, *Clement* charged the Electors to elect another. Which when the Archbiſhop of *Ments* refuſed to do, repreſenting the Emperours innocency, he deprived him of his Archbiſhoprick, and of his Electoral dignity. The other Electors corrupted with money by *John* King of *Bohemia*, elected his Son *Charles* King of the Romans, whom *Clement* approved; whence great and bloody Warres followed, and the Emperour *Ludovicus Bavarus*, was taken away by poyſon by *Clements* means, as ſome Authors write.

Nauclerus.

Faſciculus temp. Volaterran

That Election of *Charles* the IV. was the breaking of the back of the Empire, which the Popes had been long labouring for. For this *Charles*, that he might be elected

elected Emperour, pawned the tributes of the Empire to the Electors. And the Electors made him ſwear that he would never diſengage that pawne. Then they made him make that authentical Capitulation, which I have produced in my firſt Chapter. The Empire being thus weakned, and loſing the Tributes, which are the ſinewes of Warre, was diſabled from reſiſting the Turk, who hath ſince waſted the Chriſtian Provinces with little oppoſition, and hath deſtroyed ſo many Churches, or turned them into Moskites. For all theſe diſtractions, the Church and the Empire may thank the See of *Rome*, which had a hand in all the Negotiations of the Princes of *Germany* and *Italy*; and whoſe Authority acted alwayes for the depreſſion of the Emperour. Neither could all theſe conditions, ſo hurtful to the Imperial Dignity, and the publick ſubſiſtence, have paſt into ſtanding laws, if the Pope had not promoted them, or if he would have ſhewed himſelf againſt them.

Since this Pope *Clement* the V I. for about fifty or threeſcore years, I find not that the Popes had many irons in the fire out of the limits of *Italy*, the Papal power being much broken with Schiſmes. So that the Popes inſtead of fulminating Bulls againſt Emperours and Kings, courted its ſeveral Monarchs of Chriſtendome, to take their party againſt their Anti-popes.

Benedict the XIII. in the year 1408. being incenſed againſt *Charles* the V I. of *France*, for inhibiting the exactions of the Papal Court, ſent a Bull of Excommunication againſt the King and his Princes. The Univerſity of *Paris* required that the Bull ſhould be torne, and *Theodoricus à Niem in memore uniones.* *Somnium Viridarii.*

and that Pope *Benedict*, (whom they called *Peter de Luna*) ſhould be declared Heretick, Schiſmatick, and diſturber of peace: Which was done. The Bull was torne by Sentence of the Court. And two *Bulliſts*, bearers of that Bull, made that which they call *Honourable amends*, upon the Pallace ſtairs, then were carried in two dung carts, arrayed in Jerkins of courſe linnen cloth painted, with paper Miters on their head, the trumpets ſounding before them, and the common people howting upon them, and abuſing them. So little account did they make of the roaring of the Popes Bulls.

Carolus Molinæus contra parvas datas, relates that Sentence of the Court.

For a hundred years after *Benedict* the XIII. I find not that the Popes made uſe of their ſpiritual Sword againſt any Prince out of *Italy* and *Sicily*; partly by reaſon of Schiſmes, when that Roman Beaſt had many heads; partly by reaſon of the Councils occaſioned by theſe Schiſmes. For they had three Councils in leſſe than forty years, at *Conſtance*, at *Baſil*, and at *Florence*; and the firſt and ſecond of them took upon them to depoſe Popes, and gave credit to that dangerous opinion, ſo odious to the Court of *Rome*, that the Council is above the Pope. This kept the Popes for a time in ſome order and reſpect to the Princes of Chriſtendome, but for ſome wrangling about pragmatick ſanctions, which grew not ſo high as to Warre or Excommunication.

But in recompence, *Julius* the II. raiſed warres and tumults, as much as would ſerve for a hundred years. He drew both his Swords againſt ſeveral Princes and States of Chriſtendome; eſpecially againſt that excellent

lent King *Lewis* the XII. of *France*. For having drawn him into *Italy* for his ends, he makes a League to drive him out; excommunicates him, and puts his Kingdome to Interdict. Excommunicates the *Venetians*, giveth their dominions to any that will take them. Driveth the *Bentivogli* out of *Bononia*; expoſeth their houſes to pillage: Excommunicates the Duke of *Ferrara*, and invades his Countrey by Armes; goes to Warre in perſon. Makes the Engliſh, the Spaniards, and the Switzers, to fall upon the French; takes many Imperial Cities. Excommunicates the King of *Navarre*, and giveth his Kingdome to the King of *Arragon*, who upon that invades and takes it: And this is all the title that the Spaniard hath to *Navarre*, which he keepeth to this day. So much blood was ſhed in Chriſtendome by the meanes of that plague of mankind Pope *Julius* the II. that it is thought that he was the death of two hundred thouſand Chriſtians, in ſeven years time. *Onuphrius Paul. Jovius.*

In a Synod of the Gallican Church at *Tours*, it was declared that the Pope hath no power to make warre againſt a Chriſtian Prince; and if he do ſo, that the Prince hath power to invade the Popes Territories. This the King ſignifieth to *Julius*, and cites him to anſwer to a General Council, which both the Emperour and he had called to be held at *Lyons*. The Council was held there, but ſoon removed to *Piſa*; where the Council cited *Julius* to appear; and he not appearing, was condemned as an Incendiary, unworthy to ſit at the Helme of the Church, and declared deprived of the Papal Dignity. There alſo *Lewis* coined golden Crownes with this Motto, *Perdam nomen Babylonis.* *Nicol. Gilles in Vita Ludov. XIII. Thuan. lib. 1.*

I will destroy the name of Babylon. For it is observable, that all that have quarrelled with the See of *Rome* these thirteen hundred years, have called it *Babylon*, and Saint *Hierome* was he that began.

Hierom ad Marcellam.

We cannot charge the Successor of *Iulius*, *Leo* the X. to have stirred Wars abroad; he loved too much his ease at home for that. But I could not pass by him, for indeed his memory is precious to all Protestants, for giving occasion to the Reformation by his Indulgences. And he is worthy to be recorded for his sentence spoken to his Secretary Cardinall *Bembo*, *Quantum nobis nostrisque ea de Christo fabula profuerit satis est omnibus sæculis notum*, an anxiome of too high a nature to be Englished.

Crispinus.

After him came next but one *Clement* the VII. the Fomenter of the quarrell between the Emperour and the French, joyning sometimes to the one, sometimes to the other, and playing false with both, whereby he gave occasion to the taking and sacking of *Rome*. The thundering of this Pope, and of his Successor *Paul* the III. against *Henry* the VIII. did him no harm, but to themselves, and to the Roman See very much.

Iovius.

Of the following Popes till *Pius* the V. the Protestants have much to say, as of men that sought their own pleasure, and wrought their ruine. Hence so much blood spilt in horrible Massacres. But these are besides my subject, which is to make the Popes to appear Authors of rebellion.

But now in a good time we are come to *Pius* the V. that Pope whom the English Protestants have most reason

ſon to remember. For without admonition or citation premiſed, he pronounced a ſentence of anathema againſt that bleſſed and glorious Queen *Elizabeth*, to raiſe rebellion in the Kingdome againſt her Authority and Life, and cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed and ſet up upon the Pallace Gate of the Biſhop of *London:* the Title was this; *A ſentence declaratory of our holy Lord Pope* Pius *againſt* Elizabeth *Queen of* England, *and the Hereticks adhering unto her, Wherein her Subjects are declared abſolved from the Oath of Allegiance, and every thing due unto her whatſoever; and thoſe which from thenceforth obey her, are innodated with the anathema.* In that Bull Pope *Pius* having firſt ſtyled himſelf *Servant of Servants*, declareth that *God hath made the Biſhop of* Rome *Prince over all people, and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant, and build.* Then he calleth Elizabeth *the pretended Queen of* England, *the ſervant of wickedneſs.* And having declared her crimes, which are to have taken upon her ſelf that ſupremacy which his Holineſs pretended to, and to have eſtabliſh'd the true Catholick Orthodox Religion in her Kingdomes, he doth thunder out this ſeditious Decree againſt her and all her loyall Subjects. *We do out of the fulneſs of our Apoſtolick power declare the aforeſaid* Elizabeth, *being an Heretick, and a favourer of Hereticks, and her adherents in the matters aforeſaid, to have incurred the ſentence of anathema, and to be cut off from the unity of the body of Chriſt. And moreover we do declare her to be deprived of her pretended Title to the Kingdom aforeſaid, and of all Dominion, Dignity, and Priviledge whatſoever. And alſo the Nobility, Subjects,*

Cambdens Hiſt of Qu. Elizabeth.

Micolaus Sanderus de ſchiſmate Anglicano, lib. 3.

and People of the ſaid Kingdome, and all other which have in any ſort ſworn unto her, to be for ever abſolved from any ſuch Oath, and all manner of duty of Dominion, Allegiance, and Obedience, as we alſo do by authority of theſe preſents abſolve them, and do deprive the ſame Elizabeth *of her pretended Title to the Kingdome, and all other things aboveſaid. And we do command and interdict all and every the Noblemen, Subjects, People, and others aforeſaid, that they preſume not to obey her, or her Monitions, Mandates, and Laws: And thoſe which ſhall do to the contrary, we do innodate with the like ſentence of anathema.*

This Bull was the fire and the roaring of the Canon, and the bullet came forth immediately; which was the rebellion in the *North*, for which *Chapino Vitelli* was ſent into *England* from the Duke of *Alva*, under pretence of compounding ſome controverſies about commerce. And *Nicholas Morton* was ſent from the Pope to knit the rebellion. Which he did, denouncing from his Maſter, that Queen *Elizabeth* was an Heretick, and thereby had forfeited to the Pope all her dominion and power. At the ſame time a rebellion broke out in *Ireland*, kindled or blown by a Spaniard, *Iuan Mendoza*. And when the Rebells of *England* were defeated, they found refuge among the Papiſt Rebells of *Scotland*, who ſet up again the Engliſh rebellion. All theſe in vain, by the gracious aſſiſtance of God to poor *England*, as if his compaſſion had been ſtirred up by his jealouſie, after that the Pope had declared himſelf ſo inſolently, *Prince over all People, and all Kingdoms, to pluck up, deſtroy, ſcatter, conſume, plant, and build.* And God

God would ſhew, that to himſelf, not to the Pope, *belongeth the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory for ever.*

Neither did *Pius* the V. fight onely by Bulls, but at the ſame time that the Bull was publiſhed, he laid down a hundred thouſand Crowns to raiſe the rebellion, and promiſed fifty thouſand more, yea, and to bear the whole charge of the War. That money was diſtributed by one *Ridolpho.* And how active that Pope was to ſtirre *Spain, France,* and *Netherlands* againſt the Queen, and to put her Kingdome in combuſtion, is related by *Hieronymo Catena,* an Authour of great credit at *Rome* in his life of *Pius* the V.

Gregory the XIII. ſucceeded *Pius* the V. in all his plots againſt *England.* He gave to *Thomas Stukely,* an Engliſh Rebell, a Commiſſion to help the Rebells of *Ireland,* and get that Kingdome for the Baſtard-Son of his Holineſs, *Iames Boncompagnon*; and gave him the command of eight hundred Italians to joyn with King *Sebaſtian* of *Portugal,* who had engaged his word to the Pope to ſerve him with his whole power againſt Queen *Elizabeth,* and had raiſed a great Army for that expedition. But when *Stukely* came to *Sebaſtian,* he found him poſſeſs'd with a new project to help a Moor King of *Fez,* againſt another King who kept him out of poſſeſſion, and to get the Kingdome from them both. To that War he invited *Stukely,* promiſing that preſently after that work done (which he repreſented to him moſt eaſie) they ſhould go together to the War againſt *England* and *Ireland.* So they ſailed over into *Africa,* where *Sebaſtian* and his whole Army were de-

ſtroyed; and with him *Stukely* and the Popes Italian Souldiers were cut in pieces. A deliverance of *England* ever to be remembred with praiſe and admiration. *So let thine enemies periſh, O Lord.*

This Pope had a great hand in that unparallelled villany wrought by the marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarra*, with the Siſter of *Charles* the IX. of *France*. A marriage which *Pius* the V. would never conſent unto, by reaſon of their difference in Religion. But when his Succeſſor *Gregory* the XIII. was told by the Cardinall of *Lorrain*, that this marriage was intended as a trap to deſtroy *Henry* and his Proteſtant party, he preſently gave his diſpenſation for the celebrating of it, and encouraged the deſign. The horrible maſſacre which attended the jollity of that marriage, was received at *Rome* with triumphant expreſſions of publick joy. And Cardinal *Urſin* was ſent Legat into *France*, to praiſe the Kings piety and wiſdom in that great action, and to beſtow bleſſings and ſpiritual graces upon the King and the Actors of that fearful Tragedy. The Court of *Rome* might well praiſe what themſelves had procured, if not contrived; and truly the plot hath an Italian garb, and looks not like a production of the French ſoil.

Thuanus.

Not long after this Pope ſent to *Henry* the III. of *France* and to his people Indulgences for millions of years, which were to be obtained by making proceſſions to four Churches in *Paris*, and by being zealous and diligent in the extirpation of hereſies, that is (in his ſtyle) to extermine the Proteſtants.

The male line of the Kings of *Portugal* being extinct, this

this Pope laid a claim to the Kingdome, as depending from the holy See, and would have the Nation to have taken Arms for him againſt the heirs from the females: But his claim was hiſſed out with great ſcorn.

In the year 1580. this Pope ſent an Italian called *San Ioſepho* with ſome Italian Troops into *Ireland*, to joyn with the Iriſh Rebells. When they were demanded by a meſſage from the Lord Deputy who they were, and what they came for, they anſwered, Some that they were ſent by the moſt holy Father the Pope, and ſome from the Catholick King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope had given *Ireland*, becauſe Queen *Elizabeth* had juſtly forfeited her Title to *Ireland* by her hereſie. A doctrine which at the ſame time was preach'd in *England* and *Ireland* by Jeſuites and other Seminary Prieſts; with great boldneſs and vehemency: till the Queen and her Councell perceiving what danger the State was running into by theſe mens activeneſs and impunity, *Campian* and ſome others ſent by the Pope on that errand were apprehended. And being examined, they obſtinately defended the Popes authority over the Queen, and maintained that ſhe was no Queen, as being lawfully depoſed by the Pope; upon which they were condemned and executed. That Crown of Martyrdom the Pope procured to his Confeſſors. And the greater the number is of thoſe Martyrs that the Papiſts muſter, the more they exaggerate the Popes cruelty to his trueſt Vaſſalls. For could the Pope expect, that perſons ſent to perſwade the people to diſpoſſeſs and kill their Sovereign, ſhould have other dealing from the hand of Juſtice.

The principal Article of the late Papal Creed is, that

that which *Pius* the V. ſets forth in his Bull againſt the Queen, that *God hath made the Biſhop of* Rome *Prince over all people and all Kingdoms.* But the Engliſh Papiſts are taught that beſides that general right over all Kingdomes, the Pope hath a peculiar right over *England* and *Ireland* as his proper Dominions. This is *Bellarmins* doctrine which he hath made bold to maintain unto King *James* himſelf. *The King of* England (ſaith he) *is ſubject to the Pope by double right. The one by reaſon of his Apoſtolick power, which extends over all men, according to that* (Charter) Pſ. 44. *Thou ſhalt eſtabliſh them Princes over all the earth. The other proper, by a right dominion.* Then he pleadeth that *England* and *Ireland* are the Churches dominions, the Pope the direct Lord, and the King his Vaſſal. This then being become an Article of Religion, in which the Engliſh Papiſts are inſtructed; and this in conſequence, that if the Pope diſallow the King, he is no more King of *England*, but an Uſurper, and muſt be uſed accordingly: Let any man judge, who hath ſome equity and freedome of judgement left, whether a prudent Prince and Council of State, ought to ſuffer ſuch an inſtruction to be given to the people. Truly the more Religion is pretended for that doctrine, and the practice of Rebellion obtruded as a commandement of the Church, the more it concernes the loyal Magiſtrate to oppoſe it vigorously.

Bellarm. lib. cui Titulus Tortus pag. 19. Rex Anglorum duplici jure ſubjectus eſt Papæ, uno communi omnibus Chriſtianis ratione Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis quę in omnes extenditur, juxta illud. Pſ. 44. Conſtitues eos Principes ſuper omnem terram: Altero proprio, ratione recti dominii.

Pope *Sixtus* the V. to favour the enterpriſe of *Philip* the II. upon *England*, renewed the Excommunication of

of Queen *Elizabeth*, pronounced by *Pius* the V. deprived her (*verbo tenus*) of her Kingdome, abſolved her ſubjects from all Allegiance to her, and publiſhed a *Croiſada* againſt her, as againſt the Turk, giving plenary Indulgence to all that would make warre againſt her. But the Popes Curſes provoked Gods bleſſings upon the Queen, who might ſay as *David*, when *Shimei* curſed him; *The Lord will requite me good for his curſing this day.* All the ſtorms raiſed againſt *England*, were blown over without harme. The great preparations of *Spain* ſerved onely to diſable it, and ſecure *England*. And the many attempts againſt the Queens life upon that Bull, contributed to her ſafety, by manifeſting to the World the wickedneſſe of *Rome*, and the pernicious effects of the Roman principles. For which I might produce the Examinations and Confeſſions of many that ſuffered for attempting to murther the Queen, but I will bring but one for all. *William Parry* acknowledged that *he had promis'd at* Rome *to kill the Queen, about which he was moſt troubled in his conſcience, till he lighted upon Dr.* Allens book, *which taught that Princes excommunicate for hereſie, were to be deprived of Kingdome and life: Which book* (ſaith he) *did vehemently excite me to proſecute my attempt.*

This Popes Excommunications had more effect in *France*, for after that he had excommunicated King *Henry* the III. and abſolved his ſubjects from all Allegiance to him; in conſequence of that Bull many of the French rebelled againſt their King, and he was ſlain upon that account, by a Dominican Friar. Which when this Pope heard, he commended the action highly,

highly, in a full Conſiſtory at *Rome*, and forbad that any funeral rites ſhould be celebrated for him. Which funeral rites (uſually celebrated at *Rome* for departed Princes) conſiſting moſt in prayer for their ſouls, it appeareth that his Holineſſe was not contented that he had ſlain that King by his Bull, but would alſo damne his ſoul.

Gregory the XIV. excommunicated by his Bulls *Henry* the IV. of *France*, forbidding all Peers, Nobles, Cities and Commons, to yield him obedience, and declaring him incapable of the Crown, as an Heretick and relapſe. But that Bull was by the Court of Parliament, then ſitting at *Tours*, condemned to be torn and burnt by the Hang-man.

Clement the VIII. did the ſame over again, and excommunicated *Henry*: The Bull was condemned as the other, to be burnt by the hand of the Hang-man. But the effect of theſe Bulls appeared by the attempts againſt the Kings life, which ſoon after followed; firſt by a woman, next by *Peter Barriere*, and again by *John Chaſtel*; all denying him to be King, becauſe he was not abſolved by the Pope. Neither did the effects of theſe Bulls ceaſe, after that the King was abſolved by his Holineſſe: For by them the King got his death. *Ravilliac* who killed him, could alledge them when he was examined; and ſay that the King was an Heretick in his heart, and deſerved to be ſlain, as an enemy of the Church.

Paul the V. was as turbulent as his predeceſſors, as he ſhewed it in his inſolent and impertinent quarrel with the Venetians, becauſe they had ſtopt by Edict the

the giving of Lands to the Church, whereby the State loſt many tributes and ſervices. He threatned them of Excommunication, if they did not recal that Law. And upon their maintaining of it, he excommunicated them, and put their State in Interdict. But it took no effect, for none of their Clergy would or durſt obey it; the Jeſuites onely excepted, who therefore were expelled out of their dominions. They condemned the Popes Bull by Edict, and forbad the bringing of it into their Territory, upon pain of hanging: Neither did they give any ſatisfaction to the Pope, when the buſineſſe came to an Arbitrement: but forced him to make amends to himſelf, and to come to their terms.

In the beginning of this Popes reigne, was detected that Treaſon, not to be matcht in any age for cruelty and depth of villany, the Gunpowder-plot, to have deſtroyed in one blow the King, the Parliament, the Judges of the Land, and all the flowre and ſtrength of the Kingdome of *England*. This horrid Treaſon was the effect of the ſeveral Bulls of the Pope before the Reigne of our gracious King *James* of glorious memory; who coming into his Kingdome of *England*, found it lying under a Papal Interdict; and himſelf excluded from the Crown, by a Bull ſent into *England*, a little before the death of Queen *Elizabeth*, whereby all that are not Roman Catholicks, are declared incapable of, and excluded from the Succeſſion: of which his Majeſty complains in his Apology. And that Bull was produced in the Indictment of the Jeſuite *Garnet*, as the principal motive of the Gunpowder Treaſon.

This gave occaſion to the Oath of Supremacy, ſet

forth by the King and his Parliament then ſitting, for the ſecurity of his Majeſties Life and Dignity; wherein it is required of all to whom it is adminiſtred, to acknowledge his Majeſty to be the lawful King of the Realmes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and that the Pope hath no right to depoſe him of his Kingdoms, or diſpenſe his Subjects from their obedience to him. Alſo that they abhorre as impious and heretical, this doctrine, That Princes excommunicated by the Pope, may juſtly be depoſed or slain by their owne Subjects.

This Oath being preſented to the Roman Catholicks, ſome of them made no difficulty to take it, among others, *Blackwell* the Arch-prieſt. Whereupon the Pope ſent Apoſtolical Letters into *England*, declaring that *this Oath could not be taken with a ſafe conſcience, and exhorting the Engliſh to ſuffer all kinds of torments, and death it ſelf, rather then to offend Gods Majeſty by ſuch an Oath. To imitate the conſtancy of other Engliſh Martyrs. To have their loins girt about with vertue, to put on the Breſt-plate of righteouſneſſe, and take the Buckler of Faith.* He tells them *that God who hath begun in them that good work, will perfect it, and will not ſuffer them to be Orphans, &c. And he injoyneth them to obſerve diligently the precepts contained in the Letters which* Clement *the VIII. his predeceſſor had written a little before to Mr.* George *Arch-prieſt of* England. By which Letters all Princes of a Religion contrary to the Roman, are excluded from the Crown of *England*.

Dated *Sept.* 22. 1606.

Theſe Letters whereby the Engliſh were exhorted to be Martyrs of the Popes Sovereignty in *England*, and

to

to make it an Article of their faith, which they muſt ſigne with their blood, that the Pope hath power to depoſe Princes, and expoſe them to be expelled and ſlain by their own ſubjects, did not receive that entertainment which he expected among the Engliſh of his Religion: For ſome rejected them as ſuppoſititious,& forged by the Hereticks, to draw perſecution upon them, and kindle their Kings wrath againſt them, he being already juſtly provoked to revenge by the late conſpiracy. The Pope hearing of this, ſends other, and more expreſs letters into *England*, to expoſtulate with the Roman Catholicks; ſaying That *he wondred at their doubting of the truth of the Apoſtolick letters, to diſpenſe themſelves upon that pretence from obeying his commandments: And therefore he declareth, That thoſe Letters were written by himſelf, not only* motu proprio & ex certa ſcientia, *by his own motion and certain knowledge, but alſo after a long and grave deliberation, enjoyning them again to obey thoſe Letters, becauſe ſuch is his pleaſure.* Dated *Aug.* 23. 1607.

To theſe letters which ſet up rebellion with a high hand, as an Article of the Roman Faith, were joyned letters of Cardinal *Bellarmine* to *Blackwell* the Archprieſt, wherein he chides him bitterly for taking the Oath, which under colour of modifications, had no other end, but to tranſport the Popes authority to a Succeſſor of *Henry* the VIII. And by the examples of his Predeceſſors, he exhorteth him to defend the Popes primacy, whom he calleth *The Head of the Faith.*

Of this Oath thus prohibited by the Pope, and cryed down by *Bellarmine*, the Jeſuite *Becanus* ſaith, That

Becan. de diſſidio Anglic. Vterque negat ſalva conſcientia præſtari poſſe hoc juramentum, quia abnegarent fi- Catholicam.

both of them [the Pope and *Bellarmine*] *deny that it may be taken with a ſafe Conſcience; becauſe by taking it, the Catholick Faith is denyed.*

Is then an Article of the Catholick Roman faith, that Princes excommunicated by the Pope, are *ipſo facto* depoſed, and their ſubjects abſolved from all obedience and fidelity to them? It is directly, though not believed but by few: You have that fundamental Law authentically pronounced by *Gregory* the VII. and it is made a Canon of the Roman Church. *By Apoſtolical authority we abſolve from their oath, all them that are bound by fidelity or oath to excommunicate perſons, and by means we forbid them to keep faith unto ſuch perſons.* I would ask the Roman Catholicks, Seriouſly do you believe this? And are you ready to ſeal that faith with your obedience or ſufferings upon occaſions? If you believe and will maintain it, you are not good ſubjects, but dangerous perſons in the State. If you deny faith and obedience to that Papal Decree, you are not good Roman Catholicks; for if you were, you would acknowledge the Pope *the Head of the Faith*, with *Bellarmine*, and that the Pope cannot erre in his Canons, and that it is in the Popes power to make Articles of faith, according to the determination of the Council of *Trent*. Now the Pope hath made this an Article of your faith, the denying of it an hereſie, and the reſiſting of it a crime puniſh'd in the perſons of Kings by the deprivation of Kingdom and life.

Cauſa 15. *Qu.* 5. *cap. Nos Sanctorum.* Eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate, aut Sacramento conſtricti ſunt Apoſtolica authoritate a juramento abſolvivimus, & ne ſibi fidem obſervent omnibus modis prohibemus.

Open

Open your eyes, Chriſtian ſouls, that are ſo much blinded as to pin your faith upon the Popes Decrees; And reading in your own Authors the hiſtories of the Popes behaviour which I have here repreſented, acknowledg that thoſe Decrees for many hundred years have been the powerful ſtirrers of rebellion in Chriſtendome, and the ambition of Popes the firſt Intelligence that ſets the great Orb of ſedition on going.

After that the Popes have thus commanded and wrought rebellion by expreſs Decrees, and filled the Chriſtian world with fire and blood theſe five or ſix hundred years, have the Jeſuites the face, when we object this againſt the *Head of their Faith*, to object unto us in exchange ſome paſſages out of books either falſe, or diſowned by us, if true: And the defenſive Arms of a few perſons, living under the Croſs, and driven by themſelves upon the brink of deſpair? The evil which men of our Religion have ſaid or done, we condemn freely and openly. Let the Romaniſts condemn alſo ſo many Decrees of the Popes which have been the Incentives of war, and brands of rebellion: But that they cannot, as long as they remain Papiſts, ſworn to approve all that the Pope ſaith or doth.

The difference between the faults of the Pope and thoſe of Proteſtants about the point of obedience, is this; That diſobedience with us is a crime, but with him it is a Law. We puniſh rebels, but the Pope rewards them. We ſay to rebels after St *Paul*, That *they that reſiſt the higher powers, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* But the Pope promiſeth eternal life to make ſubjects rebel againſt their King. We abhor the murtherers

So did *Sixtus* the V. of which before.

therers of Kings, but the Pope ſets them on by his excommunications, and after the murther committed, makes panegyricks on their praiſe.

Can the Romaniſts produce among us a Prieſt that hath made himſelf a Temporal Prince by robbing his Maſter of his land, who hath kickt down the Emperors crown, trodden upon his neck with his foot, depoſed him from his Kingdom, made his ſon riſe in Arms againſt him, abſolved his ſubjects from their obedience, and given his Dominions to another; One that makes himſelf the abſolute diſpoſer of Kingdoms, and Maſter of the Univerſe? Such a Prieſt is no where to be found but at *Rome*.

After this true account of ſo many Emperours and Kings depoſed and killed, and ſo much rebellion, ſlaughter, and deſolation wrought in Chriſtendom by the Papal excommunications and factions; let the conſcionable Reader, who is not altogether ignorant in modern Hiſtory, judge what truth there is in our Adverſaries aſſertion, That *in this laſt Century of years there have been more Princes depoſed and murthered for their Religion by thoſe Proteſtants of Integrity, then have been in all the others ſince Chriſt's time by the Popes excommunications, or the attempts and means of Roman Catholicks.* He ſhould have ſet down a liſt of thoſe Princes depoſed and murthered by Proteſtants, and for their Religion. For my part I have heard of none. Indeed *Charles* the I. our holy King and Martyr, ſuffered for his Religion: and the Adverſary may take that one for many, becauſe he was πολλῶν ἀντάξιος ἄνθρ, worth alone many Princes. But they that murthered him were not Proteſtants, they diſ-

pag. 93.

avow

avow that name; And it was for the Proteſtant Religion that he ſuffered.

But ſince he ſpeaks of the *means and attempts made by Roman Catholicks againſt Princes*, he ſhall hear a little more of them.

CHAP. V.

The Adverſaries Defence of the Jeſuites examined. Their Doctrine and Attempts againſt the Crown and life of Kings.

THe Adverſary who is commended in the Epiſtle to the Reader, as *a moſt obſervant Son of the Church of England*, takes upon him the defence of the Jeſuite *Mariana*, ſo infamous for his doctrine of killing of Kings, and ſaith three things about that.

The one is, That he handleth that matter only problematically. But the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, compoſed of grave heads, did not underſtand it ſo, when they condemned his book to the fire. Neither doth he ſpeak of the murther of *Henry* the III. of *France* problematically, when he exalteth the murtherer in theſe words. *Making a ſhew of delivering letters* [to the King] *he gave him a deep wound above the bladder with a poyſoned knife which he hid in his hand. O admirable confidence of minde! O memorable action! by killing the King, he got to himſelf a great name.* And in the ſame place he taxeth the Kings ſervants, who preſently page 94.

Mariana lib. 1. de Rege & Regis Inſtitutione, cap. 6. Specie litteras in manus tradendi cultro quem herbis noxiis medicatum manu tegebat ſupra veſicam altum vulnus inflixit. Inſignem animi confidentiam! Facinus memorabile ---- Cæſo Rege ingens ſibi nomen fecit.

ſently killed that murtherer, of cruelty and barbarouſneſs.

The ſecond anſwer for *Mariana* is, That *the queſtion* page 94. *was not for killing of Kings, but for killing of Tyrants.* This man ſhews himſelf a right ſcholar of the Jeſuites, for this is their diſtinction. But if a King depoſed by the Pope keeps his Kingdome in ſpight of him, they account him no more a King, but a Tyrant. And whereas there are two ſorts of Tyrants, ſome by uſurpation, which they call *Tyrannos in Titulo*, Tyrants in the Title; ſome Tyrants by adminiſtration; the Jeſuites hold, That a lawful King when he is once depoſed by the Pope, *begins to be a Tyrant in his Title, becauſe he is no more a lawful King.* And being thus become a Tyrant, it is by their doctrine lawful to kill him. Therefore *Henry* the IV. of *France*, whom no body durſt have called King at *Rome* before his abſolution, was ſo often aſſaulted by murtherers at that time, becauſe he was accounted a Tyrant as long as he reigned without the Popes approbation. Upon that account *Bellarmine* ſaith, That the Pope depoſing a King, doth not permit the people to diſobey their King, but he makes him that was their King, to be their King no more.

Suarez defenſ. lib. 6. cap. 5. Incipit eſſe Tyrannus in Titulo quia non eſt legitimus Rex,

Bellarm. in Barklaium, cap. 3. Non permitto tibi (inquit Papa) ut regi non pareas, quod eſſet contra jus divinum, ſed facio ut ille qui tibi Rex erat non ſit tibi deinceps Rex.

The third anſwer is, that the whole order of Jeſuites diſavowes *Marian*'s poſition, and have categorically determined the contrary. But why then did the ſame General of the Jeſuites, who diſavowed it when deſtruction was hanging over the head of his Order, approve and licence it before? For the Book was approved

ved by *Aquaviva* General of the Jeſuites, and *Stephanus Hoyeda* Viſitor of their Society in the Province of *Toledo*. And the approbation mentioneth that other Jeſuites had approved it before.

Quippe approbatus prius à viris doctis & gravibus ex eodem ordine.

The Adverſary brings ſome allegations out of Books of Jeſuites that diſown that poſition, that it is lawful to attempt againſt the life of a Prince. The Jeſuite *Eudemono-Johannes* had made thoſe allegations ready for him. He makes *Tolet* ſay in his *Summary*, *lib.* 5. *cap.* 6. that it is not lawful to attempt againſt the life of a Prince, though he never ſo much abuſe his Power, and that is flat hereſie to maintain the contrary. But theſe are *Tolets* words in the alledged place, That, *It is not lawful to kill without publick authority a Tyrant by adminiſtration, who hath indeed a juſt Title, but uſeth his Subjects tyrannycally.* Now what publick authority doth he mean, but that of the Pope? And that is meant alſo by *Suarez*, who ſaith, *That a Prince may not be killed by any out of private authority for his Tyrannical Govcrnment, or for any crime whatſoever.* He will have a publick authority for it, which is that of the Popes. For both *Bellarmine* and *Becan* maintain, that the Pope hath the ſame right over Kings, as *Jehojada* had over *Athalia*. Now *Jehojada the high Prieſt* (ſaith he) *firſt deprived Athalia of her Kingdome, and next of her life.* And a little after, *All the power and juriſdiction that was granted to the high Prieſt in the Old Teſta-*

Tolet Sum. lib. 5. *cap.* 6.
Tyrannum adminiſtratione qui quidem habet verum titulum ſed tyrannicé tractat ſubditos non licet abſque publica authoritate occidere.

Suarez Defenſ. fid. lib. 6. *cap.* 4.
Dicimus Principem propter tyrannicum regimen vel propter quæcunque crimina non poſſe ab aliquo privata authoritate occidi.

Bellarm lib. 5. *de Romano Pontif. cap.* 8.
Becan lib. de controverſia Anglicana.
Jojada Pontifex prius privavit Athaliam regno deinde vita. *Et paulo poſt*, Quicquid poteſtatis & juriſdictionis permiſſum fuit Pontifici in Veteri Teſtamento, hoc etiam in Novo promiſſum eſt illi.

ment, is promiſed to him alſo in the New. This is then that authority without which they will not have a King kill'd, and by which he may be kill'd, even the Popes authority.

Our Jeſuite alledgeth *Salmeron*, expounding the 13. Chapter to the *Romans*, *Where* (ſaith he) *he refereth the act of* Ehud *againſt King* Eglon *to Gods expreſs commandment.* That's granted. But hear him further. *It is not lawfull for a private perſon to kill a Tyrant by his own authority, eſpecially if he be in quiet poſſeſſion and reign armed with Guards about him.* All the ſecurity which he giveth to Kings, whom the Pope will call them Tyrants, is, that no man by his private authority can kill him; but by the publick authority, which is that of the Pope, any man may. And he giveth a good warning to ſuch Kings to keep a ſtrong guard about their perſons, without which a Jeſuite will ſoon find it lawful to kill them.

Salmeron in Rom. 13. Diſp. 5. Non licet privato propriâ authoritate Tyrannum interficere, maxime ſi in pacificâ poſſeſſione ſit & armatus ſatellitio regnet.

Gregorius de Valentia alledged by the Adveaſary, ſaith indeed, *It is no way permitted, for a man to attempt upon the life of his Prince, albeit he abuſe his authority:* But he addeth, *If it be not done by publick judgement.* Now that publick judgement is either that of the State, or of the Pope, or of the General of the Jeſuites. But let us hear the ſame *Gregory* ſpeak more home. *Temporal domination and ſuperiority over Subjects, may by the Popes ſentence be taken away from Hereticks. The reaſon is, that if they can be deprived of life, much more of all goods, and by conſequence of all ſuperiority over others;* taking it for granted

Greg. de Valent. part 2. q. 64.

Greg. de Valen. Tom. 3. diſputationum in Thomam diſ. 1. q. 12. pun. 2 Dominatio temporalis & ſuperioritas in ſubditos per ſententiam Papæ poteſt omnino adimi hæreticis. Ratio eſt quia ſi poſſunt privari vitâ multo magis omnibus bonis, & per conſequens omni ſuperioritate in alios.

granted and preſuppoſed that Kings may be deprived of life by the Popes Authority.

Bellarmin alledged by the Adverſary, may have declared his opiniòn as the other Jeſuites, that a King muſt not be depoſed and ſlain by private authority; then it may be done by publick authority. And we have ſhewed before that *Bellarmin* alloweth the ſame authority to the Pope over Kings, as *Jehoiada* had over *Athalia*, whom he depoſedand killed; but he ſpeaks more plainly, when * he commends the murther committed by a Monk againſt the perſon of *Henry* the III. of *France*, and calls the Murtherer *Sacratum Virum*, a ſacred *perſon*. It ſeems then he had forgotten himſelf, when he *would not have Eccleſiaſtical men to kill Kings with their own hands*, but to ſtand to the method that the Pope obſerveth. Which is *firſt to admoniſh Kings fatherly, Then deprive them of the Communion of the Sacraments by Eccleſiaſtical cenſures. Finally to abſolve their ſubjects from the Oath of their Allegiance, and if needs be, deprive them of the Royal Authority. The execution belongeth to others.*

* *Bellarm. ſub nomine Matth. Torti, pag.* 84. & 85. *Edit. Colon.* Ultus eſt Deus Chriſtum ſuum dum per alium ſacratum virum alioqui militiæ imperitum & inermem regem eundem non manifeſto divinæ providentiæ miraculo interfecit.

Idem contra Barckl. cap. 7. Non pertinet ad Monachos aut alios Eccleſiaſticos viros cædes facere multo minus per inſidias Reges occidére; Neque ſummi Pontifices conſueverunt iſta ratione Reges coercere. Mos eſt primum paterne corrigere, deinde per cenſuram Eccleſiaſticam ſacramentorum communione privare. Denique ſubditos eorum à juramento fidelitatis abſolvere, eoſque dignitate atque authoritate regia privare: Executio ad alios pertinet.

The Adverſary alſo alledgeth *Leſſius* in his book *de Scientia & Jure*, he meaneth *de Juſtitia*. It ſeemeth the man had heard of the book, but never ſeen it. But for that miſtake, his quotation is right *a*.

a Leſſius de Juſtitia & Jure, lib. 2. *cap.* 9. *dubio* 4. Talis non poteſt à privatis interimi quandiu manet Princeps, &c.

In that place ſpeaking of ſuch a King as is not a tyrant by uſurpation, but by adminiſtration, he ſaith, *Such a Prince cannot be ſlain by private perſons, as long as he remains a Prince.* Which is altogether againſt the ſecurity of Kings lives: For the Popes Decrees and the writings of the Jeſuites having ſo many times determined that a Prince depoſed by the Pope, is no more a Prince, but a private perſon; this goodly Aphoriſme of *Leſſius* expoſeth the lives of all Kings depoſed or excommunicated to the attempts of all private men[b]. He alloweth alſo a ſubject *to kill his Prince in the defence of his own life*, contrary to the Evangelical precept of not reſiſting the higher powers. And that you may know him to be like his confreres in treaſonable doctrine. He concludes that queſtion thus: *If the tyranny groweth to that point, that it ſeem not to be tolerated any more, and that there be no remedy; He muſt firſt be depoſed by the Commonwealth, or the States of the Kingdome; or by another that hath authority; and declared an enemy, that it may be lawful to attempt any thing againſt his perſon.* What is that *other perſon* that hath authority over King, Commonwealth and States? It muſt be one that belongs not to the State, elſe he ſhould be a ſubject, and could not pretend to that authority of depoſing the King, and expoſing his life to all attempts. And what *other perſon* pretends to that authority, but the Pope.

[b] *Idem Ibid. dubio* 11. Princeps non poteſt à ſubdito interfici niſi forte ob neceſſariam vitæ ſuæ defenſionem.

Dub. 12. Si tantum excreſcat tyrannis ut non videatur amplius tolerabilis nec ullum aliud remedium ſuperſit, primum à Rep. vel comitiis regni vel alio habente authoritatem eſſe deponendum & hoſtem declarandum ut in ipſius perſonam liceat quicquam attentare. Tunc enim deſinit eſſe Princeps.

He

He alledgeth alſo *Azorius* in his Moral Inſtitution, but doth not quote any place. This is his doctrine, *All that were bound to an heretick in any manner, whether with oath or fidelity, or any other paction. Let them know that they are abſolved from all debt of fidelity or obedience, &c. The Pope may take away or give a King for juſt cauſes, and then the people may obey the Pope as their ſuperiour, who hath ſovereigne power both upon the King and Kingdome.* If he hath ſovereigne power over them, he hath power of life and death.

Azorius hiſt. Moral. part 1. *lib.* 8 *cap.* 13. Eos omnes qui eran[t] hæretico aliqua ratione obſtrict jusjurandi ſeu fidelitatis ſeu alterius pactionis liberari --- Abſolutos ſe noverint à debito fidelitatis Domini, & totius obſequii quicunque lapſis manifeſto in hæreſin aliquo pacto quacunque firmitate tenebantur aſtricti.

Idem Ibid. part 2. *lib.* 11. *cap.* 5.- A Romano Pontifice Rex au, fertur vel datur juſtis de cauſis & tunc populus tanquam ſuperiori Romano Pontifici parere debet --- Habet in Regem & regnum ſummam poteſtatem.

And whereas this Gentleman alledgeth *Gretzer* as one that confuteth all *Mariana*'s grounds, I find that he defends them all in that very place which he quoteth. *We are not ſuch daſtards* (ſaith he) *as to fear openly to affirme that the Pope of* Rome *may, if neceſſity ſo require, free his Catholick ſubjects from their oath of fidelity, if their Sovereigne handle them tyrannically.* Yea he takes openly *Mariana*'s cauſe, ſaying, pag. 160. that *Mariana* is *wrongfully traduced, for writing that it is lawful to kill any Prince that diſobeyeth the Pope; ſince he maintains that a lawful Prince who diſobeyeth the Pope, notwithſtanding ought not to be made away by any private man, if ſentence be not pronounced againſt*

Gretzer-Veſpertilio Hæreticopoliticus, pag. 159. Tam timidi & trepidi non ſumus ut aſſerere palam vereamur Romanum Pontificem poſſe ſi neceſſitas exigat ſubditos Catholicos ſolvere juramento fidelitatis, ſi Princeps tyrannice illos tractet.

againſt him. And he that muſt pronounce that Sentence is the Pope. He complaineth alſo that *Mariana* is unjuſtly accuſed for affirming that a tyrant ought to be poyſoned; ſeeing he maintains the contrary; affirming *that a tyrant cannot lawfully be made away by poyſon, if himſelf take it, and apply it to himſelf. Which cannot be avoided, when his meat and drink is poyſoned.* So in the end he agreeth with *Mariana*, whoſe words I have produced in my ſecond Chapter, and is content that a tyrant be poyſoned, ſo that he takes not the poyſon himſelf. Is not that *ſtraining the gnat, and ſwallowing the camel?* Theſe holy murtherers make nothing of killing a King, onely they are ſcrupulous about the circumſtance.

Idem pag. 162. Ne tyrannum quidem primi vel ſecundi generis etiam poſt judiciariam contra illum latam ſententiam veneno licite tollis, ſi Tyrannus ipſemet venenum illud ſumere & ſibi applicare debeat.

Thus I have ſhewed what thoſe Jeſuites ſay, which this Gentleman alledgeth: All but *Serarius* and *Richeome*, which I have not by me, no more then he that quoteth them. And I have made it plain, that they all conſent with *Mariana*, and ſpeak the ſame language.

But what! he tells us that the opinion of *Mariana* was condemned by a Provincial Congregation of the Jeſuites; and that condemnation ratified by the General of the Jeſuites *Claudius Aquaviva.* So it was, with ſhame enough, to *Aquaviva* and his confreres, who had approved and licenced it before. But ſee what that condemnation comes to, the Jeſuites ſeeing their Sect made odious by the writings of *Mariana, Suarez, Vaſquez*, and others, and more by the murthering of Kings,

Kings, by perſons died with their principles, made an order among themſelves, whereby they forbad to write or teach that doctrine any more. The words of the Ratification are thoſe, *That none teach by writing or ſpeaking, that it is lawful for any perſon, or upon any pretence of Tyranny, to kill Kings and Princes.*

Ne quiſquam ſcripto vel ſermone doceat licitum eſſe cuicunque perſonæ, quocunq; prætextu, tyrannidis Reges aut Principes occidere.

Was it not time, think ye, to forbid teaching ſo any more, when they had been expelled for it out of *France*, and made the objects of the publick execration? But how groſſe is their fraud in that order! Do they forbid their Society *to believe ſo*? By no means, but to teach ſo. Neither will they have it lawful for *any perſon* to kill Kings, but to ſuch as are commiſſioned for it. Neither will they have the execution done *upon any pretence of tyranny*, but onely upon the definitive Sentence of the Pope or the States. And how are the lives of Kings and Princes more ſecure then before by their declaring that it is not lawful to kill Kings and Princes, ſeeing that in their account they are no more Kings and Princes, when they are once excommunicated and depoſed by the Pope?

The Adverſary alledgeth alſo the Council of *Conſtance*, which condemneth the doctrine of killing tyrants as erroneous. But if this Gentleman be a true Papiſt, and hold that the Pope is above the Council, he ſhall make nothing of that Councils Authority, ſeeing that it is not liked by the Popes; for we learn of *Mariana*, that neither *Martin* the V.

Mariana lib. 2. caſ. 6. p. 62. Id decretum Romano Pontifici Martino V. probatum non invenio, non Eugenio aut ſucceſſoribus quorum conſenſu Conciliorum Eccleſiaſticorum ſanctitas ſtat præſertim quod non ſine Eccleſiæ motu tricipiti Pontificum diſſidio de ſummo Pontificatu contendentium celebratum fuiſſe ſcimus.

then

then elected, nor *Eugenius* nor his Succeſſors approve it, and he diſgraceth it as aſſembled in a tumultuous time, when there were three Popes reigning together.

But the truth is, That the Decree of that Councell is rather againſt the ſafety of Kings. For the caſe propounded to the Councel by *Gerſon*, was not about the murther of Sovereigne Princes, but about the killing of a great Officer of the Crown who ruleth tyrannically, and exalts himſelf above his King: for *John* Duke of *Burgundy* who had killed *Lewis* Duke of *Orleans*, pretended him to have been a Tyrant in that kinde. If then ſuch Tyrants be declared inviolable perſons by the Councel, the Councel by its authority guards them againſt the attempts of loyal ſubjects, and ſtrengthneth them againſt their King.

Suarez goeth another way to work to elude the authority of that Decree, ſaying to our Moſt Excellent King *James*, That the Council of *Conſtance* forbids not the killing of a King excommunicated by the Pope; for indeed that was not the caſe agitated in the Council.

Suarez in Reg. Mag. Brit. lib. 6. cap. 4. ſect. 20.

Vbi legeret Rex in Concilio Conſtantienſi particulam illam, Principis per Papam excommunicati vel deprivati? aut illam per ſuos ſubditos aut alios quoſcunque.

And now we are upon *Suarez*, we will ſet down here one of his golden ſentences to this purpoſe. *If* (ſaith he) *under the word of Excommunication you comprehend depoſition and deveſting a Prince of his right, which ſomtimes is done by a canonical ſentence, then there is truth in that propoſition, that a King excommunicated may be depoſed or ſlain by any perſons whatſoever impunedly.*

Ejuſdem lib. cap. 6. ſect. 24.

Si ſub voce excommunicationis comprehendatur depoſitio & diffidatio quæ per ſententiam canonicam interdum fit, ſic veritatem continere illam propoſitionem Regem excommunicatum impune deponi vel occidi quibuſcunque poſſe.

The

The Adverſary concludeth his juſtification of the Jeſuites, by alledging the Decree of *Sorbon* againſt the doctrine of King-killing, and the Arreſt of the Parliament of *Paris* againſt the book of *Mariana*. What ſtyle muſt be given to this mans confidence? Could he preſume ſo much upon the Readers ignorance, as to bring that for the Jeſuites which is moſt againſt them? Who knows not that the Decree of *Sorbon* was directly made againſt the Jeſuites, as the aſſertors of the doctrine of King-killing? Who knows not that the Arreſt of Parliament which condemneth *Mariana*'s book to the fire, blaſteth expreſly the doctrine and the ſect of the Jeſuites? If he ſay that he brings that to clear the Roman Religion, he changeth the queſtion, for he had undertaken to defend the Jeſuites. And theſe allegations are for us, who deſire to ſhew to the world, that many Profeſſors of the Roman Religion abhor theſe principles, overcome by the evidence of honeſt truth; and therefore are not true Papiſts, ſince their belief is not ruled by the *Head of the Roman Faith* in the point which moſt neerly concerneth his power and grandeur. This Gentleman might be aſhamed to alledge the *Sorbon*, if he knoweth what Decree was made by them *Apr.* 4. 1626. againſt the book of the Jeſuite *Santarel*, and the Jeſuitical doctrine of King-killing: A Decree confirmed the 8. of *May* following by the Univerſity of *Paris*.

After theſe Allegations wherewith this Gentleman cuts the throat of his cauſe with his own ſword, Judge ye what reaſon he hath to cry up, *By this time I hope the tempeſt is pretty well laid.* But he muſt have a little more of that tempeſt about his ears: And having ſo page 96.

marred his own market, and given me occaſion to lay open the iniquity of his ſect, he muſt labour once more to *ſatisfie divers of his good friends whom he hath found ſcandalized at the Fathers of the Society, for protecting ſo villanous and treaſonable a Theſis.* ibid.

If now I bring upon the ſcaffold ſome more of their moſt notorious expreſſions and actions, they may not blame me, as I do them, for charging the whole party with the faults of particulars: For whereas this Gentleman chargeth the generality of the Proteſtants with the opinions of *Knox* and *Paræus*, I charge not all the Roman Catholicks with theſe villanous doctrines and actions, but only the Court of *Rome*, and the Jeſuites. Theſe two I put together, for all that the Jeſuites have taught or done to promote rebellion and high Treaſon was undertaken to advance the Court of *Rome*, and by a particular influence from that Court, whoſe eſpecial favourites and moſt devoted champions they are.

Since this Gentleman ſtands upon the ſentence of the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, let him hear that great man *Achilles de Harlay*, the firſt Preſident of that Venerable Court; who, when King *Henry* the IV. of *France*, after long ſollicitations of the Court of *Rome*, was perſwaded to recall the Ieſuites baniſhed before out of the Kingdome, made an Oration to diſſwade him from it. That Oration is related by *Thuanus* another Preſident of that Court, who was then preſent. There that vertuous *Achilles* repreſents to the King the doctrine of the Ieſuites, which is, *That the Pope hath that right to put Kings out of the communion of the Church; that an excommunicate*

Thuanus Hiſt. lib. 130. *ad ann.* 1604. *Ieſuitæ docent.* Pontificem jus habere Reges extra communionem Eccleſiæ po-

communicate King is a tyrant, and that his ſubjects may impunedly riſe againſt him. That every one of thoſe that have but one of the leaſt Orders of the Church, cannot be guilty of Treaſon, what crime ſoever he commit; becauſe Clergy-men are no more the Kings ſubjects, nor under his juriſdiction: So that Eccleſiaſtick perſons are by their doctrine exempted from the ſecular powers, and may impunedly fall upon their Kings with their ſanguinary hands. This they affirm in their publiſhed books.

nandi; excommunicatum Regem tyrannum eſſe, & ſubditos impune contra eum inſurgere. Ipſorum unumquemque qui vel minoribus Eccleſiæ Ordinibus ſit initiatus quodcunque crimen admiſeri t in læſæ Majeſtatis crimen non poſſe incidere, quippe qui minime ſint amplius Regis ſubditi nec juriſdictioni ejus ſubjecti. Ita Eccleſiaſticos per eorum doctrinam a ſeculari poteſtate eximi, & Manus cruentas licere impune Regibus ſacro-ſanctis afferre. Hoc eos libris editis aſſerere.

That grave Iudge ſpake that upon good ground; for the books of the Ieſuites inſiſt much upon the exemption of Clerks from Temporal Iuriſdictions. Whence the Ieſuite *Emanuel Sa* draweth this concluſion, *That the Rebellion of a Clergy-man againſt the Prince, is not Treaſon, becauſe he is not the Princes ſubject.* Which words are omitted in the Edition of *Paris*, but they remain in that of *Collen*, and in that of *Antwerp*. For that reaſon *Bellarmine* findes great fault with thoſe that ſlew the Monk who had murdered *Henry* the III. of *France*, (as I alledged before) becauſe they had ſlain *ſacratum virum, a conſecracred man.* A more ſacred man in his opinion, and more inviolable then the Sacred Majeſty of a King. The murder of that great Prince, the Venerable *Harlay* repreſented unto the King, and how it was exalted as a holy Act by the Ieſuite *Guignard*, who had writ a book in the commendation of the murtherer. And puts his Majeſty in minde of the Attempt made upon

Emanuel Sa in Aphoriſmis tit. Clericus.

Rebellio Clerici adverſus Principem, non eſt crimen læſæ Majeſtatis, quia Principi non eſt ſubditus.

Thuanus ibid.

his perſon by *Peter Barriere* ſuborned by the Ieſuite *Varade.*

Thuanus He might alſo have put him in minde of *John Chaſtel* a Scholar of the Ieſuites, who hit him in the mouth, and ſtruck out one of his teeth, intending to have cut his throat. In his examination he confeſs'd that he being guilty of a great crime, was kept priſoner by the Ieſuites in the chamber of Meditations, where after they had long terrified his ſoul, they propounded to him a way to leſſen his torments in hell which he had deſerved by his crimes; and that was to kill the King, which the miſerable youth promiſed and attempted.

Upon this the Colledge of the Ieſuites was ſearched, and many perſons ſeized on, among which was found a book in the praiſe of *James Clement* the murtherer of *Henry* the III. written by the Ieſuite *Guignard*, as himſelf confeſs'd, containing many arguments and reaſons to prove that it was lawful and juſt to kill *Henry* the III. together with many inductions and incitements to make away his Succeſſor, who was *Henry* the IV. then reigning. The Theams given to young Scholars, were found to be about killing of Tyrants, with praiſes of the attempt, and exhortations to it. And it was found, that after that *Paris* was reduced to the Kings obedience, the Maſters of the Forms had forbidden their ſcholars to pray for the King.

The yeer before, *Barriere* being examined, had confeſs'd that the Ieſuite *Varade*, Rector of the Colledge of the Ieſuites, had incited and adjured him upon the Sacrament of Confeſſion, and the Communion Thuanus. of the Lords Body, to kill the King; aſſuring him, that

if

if he ſuffered for it, he ſhould obtain the Crown of Martyrdome. Upon all theſe evidences the Jeſuites were expelled out of *France* by Arreſt of the Court of Parliament, and a Pyramid erected with inſcriptions declaring their expulſion and the cauſes of it, for a memorial of perpetual execration to poſterity.

Vpon that Pyramide the Ieſuites were called Homines novæ & maleficæ ſuperſtitionis, qui Reimp. turbabant, quorum inſtinctu piacularis adoleſcens dirum facinus inſtituerat.

Ten years after, they returned from their exile, the ſame men, corrupting the youth, and working rebellion; till in the end they got what they would have, even the Kings heart, which they keep in their principal houſe *la Fleſche*, after he had been ſtabbed by *Ravaillac*, a wretch, who in his examination and confeſſion ſhewed ſufficiently by whoſe inſtructions he was perſwaded to that parricidial act, for he gave this reaſon why he did it, becauſe the King would make War unto God, in as much as he prepared warre againſt the Pope, and that the Pope was God, which is the plain doctrine of the Jeſuites. And being inquired whether he had ever confeſs'd his deſign to any, he named the Jeſuite *Aubigny*, and that he had ſhewed him the Knife: Which when *Aubigny* denied, *Ravaillac* maintained it to him before his Judges.

King James defence of the right of Kings.

To favour the deſign of killing that great King, and prepare the World for it, four moneths before he was murdered, the Arreſt of the Court of Parliament of *Paris* againſt *John Chaſtel*, who had attempted to murder him, was cenſured and forbidden to be read by an Act of the Conſiſtory at *Rome*, and together the Hiſtory of *Thuanus* for relating too plainly that horrid action, and the

Note this.

the part which the Jeſuites had in it. By the ſame Conſiſtorial Act a Book of *Mariana* was cenſured; not that which approveth the murthering of Kings. The Court of *Rome* was not ſo unkind as to diſgrace a work which doth their work; but another Book which treats of Coynes. Certainly had they disliked that notorious Book condemned to the fire by the Court of Parliament of *Paris*, they would not have forgotten to cenſure it while they were in hand with *Mariana*.

As ſoon as *Henry* the IV. was ſtricken, the Colledge of the Jeſuites was environed with a Guard, the Magiſtrate and the people looking upon them as the Doctors and Contrivers of high Treaſon. And preſently they were ſued by the Univerſity of *Paris*, as corrupters of the youth, and teachers of treaſonable doctrine. *Peter Marteliere* a famous Advocate pleaded for the Univerſity, and maintained that in the Confeſſion of *Ravaillac* evident marks were found of the Doctrine of the Jeſuites. The Jeſuites were caſt, and commanded to ſhut up their Colledge, and not to teach Schollars any more. The Kings Councell required their expulſion, but they had friends about the Queen Regent, and were ſuffered to ſtay; and in time recovered alſo the liberty to teach.

Five years before that Kings death, it was a famous Hiſtory how Father *Cotton* a Ieſuite and his Confeſſor had written in a paper ſome queſtions which he had propounded to a Maid, who was ſaid to be poſſeſſed with a Devil who told ſtrange things. Among other things about which he would be reſolved, theſe were ſome, *What ſhould be the iſſue of the converſion of Monſieur*

Thuanus Hiſt. lib. 123. ad an. 1604.

eur de Laval, *and of the enterpriſes againſt* Geneva, *and the continuance of Hereſie, and of the eſtate of* Madamoiſelle Acarie, *and of the life of the King.* Which laſt queſtion is a matter capital by the Lawes, for which *Tertullian* giveth the ſame reaſon that an Engliſh Lawyer would give, becauſe it is imagining the Kings death. This paper he had laid in a Book which he had promiſed to Monſieur *Gillot* a Councellor of the Great Chamber, and through overſight he gave that paper with the Book..

Tertul. Apologet.

Qui de ſalute Principis vel ſummâ Reip. Mathematicos ariolos, aruſpices, Vaticinatores conſulit, cum eo qui reſponderit capite punitur. Cui autem opus eſt ſcrutari ſuper Cæſaris ſalute niſi à quo adverſus illum aliquid cogitatur, aut poſt illam ſperatur & ſuſtinetur.

Two years after this Monſieur *de la Force*, Vice-Roy of *Bearn* and *Navarre*, by the intelligences which he had from *Spain*, by reaſon of his neighbourhood unto it, was advertiſed that a *Spaniard* of ſuch a ſtature, of ſuch a hair, and in ſuch apparel, departed ſuch a day from *Barcelona*, to go into *France* with intendment to make away the King by poyſon or other means. This Spaniard came to *Paris*, and addreſs'd himſelf to Father *Cotton*, who brought him unto the King, and gave great commendations of him. A while after came the Letters of Monſieur *de la Force*, giving warning to his Majeſty againſt that Spaniard, with the foreſaid deſcription. The King ſhewed the Letters to Father *Cotton*, and commanded him to bring back again that Spaniard. But *Cotton* returning a good while after, told the King that he could not find the man, and that he was gone.

Not a year before the Kings death, *Cotton* writ unto a Provincial of *Spain*, divers things which the King had

had revealed unto him in confeſſion: Which treachery being diſcovered, *Cotton* was in diſgrace for ſix moneths, and then was forgiven. But he did not forgive the King, who was ſtabbed ſoon after. A few dayes after the young King being importuned by him, put him off with this gird, *I will tell you nothing, for you will write it into* Spain, *as you did my Fathers Confeſſion.*

Half a year after the Kings death the Court of Parliament ſeeing evidently, that the murther of the King, and that of his next Predeceſſor, were the productions of the doctrine of the Ieſuites, condemned the Book of *Bellarmine* againſt *Barklay*, as *containing a falſe and execrable propoſition, which tends to the overthrowing of the Powers ordained and eſtabliſhed by God, inciting Subjects to rebellion, and withdrawing them from the authority of Princes, to plot againſt their Lives and Kingdoms, and trouble the publick peace and tranquillity.*

Santarellus de Hæreſi & Schiſmate

I have ſpoken before of the Decree of the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, againſt the Book of the Ieſuite *Santarel*, confirmed by the judgement of the Univerſity in *May* 1626. The ſame Book had been condemned by the Court of Parliament of *Paris Martii* 13. of the ſame year to be burnt. And becauſe the Book was printed at *Rome* by permiſſion of the Superiours, and with the approbation of *Mutins Vitelescus* General of the Ieſuites, and Maſter of the Sacred Palace, the Ieſuites of *Paris* were ſent for by the Court and demanded, *Whereas their General had approved that Book, and declared his opinion, that the contents of it were certain and good, whether they believed as he did.* They anſwered, that *Since their General lived at* Rome, *he could not*

not but approve that which the Court of Rome *approveth. What do you believe* then *?* ſaid the Court; *The clean contrary,* ſaid the Ieſuites. *And what ſhould ye do if you were at* Rome*? As they do at* Rome, ſaid they. To which ſome of the Court anſwered, *What then! Have theſe men one conſcience at* Rome, *and another at* Paris*? God keep us from ſuch Confeſſors.*

The ſame Court ſent for Father *Cotton*, and commanded him to confute the Book of *Santarell. Cotton* being put to a ſad *dilemma*, either to offend the Pope his Maſter, and his General and the whole Society; or to anſwer an Indictment of high Treaſon, freed himſelf by a ſudden death, being in perfect health before; or ſome of his Society took that pains for him. It ſeems that the Court were more peremptory with him, then King *Henry* the IV. who ſhewed him once that Book of *Mariana*, which ſince was condemned to the fire, and commanded him to confute it. But he gave ſome ill excuſe to the King, who preſs'd him no further about it.

About the ſame time that this great Prince was ſlain by the faction of the Ieſuites, the Prince of *Tranſylvania* was in the ſame danger by them. So much is certified by Letters of the Baron of *Zerotin*, *May* 2. 1610. that a Ieſuite perſwaded a Lord of *Tranſylvania* in whoſe houſe he lived, to kill the Prince. But the Prince having diſcover'd the Plot, killed the Conſpiratours, and the Ieſuite the Author of the conſpiracy.

This Jeſuite was taken tardy, and had not the luck of many of his Confreres, who frame the plots, and look ſtanding out of the reach of the blows, the acting of the deſperate attempts upon which they have caſt

others. Yet there was a Scottiſh Jeſuite of the Colledge of *Clermont* in *Paris*, his name *Alexander Hayes*, who was ſo zealous, as to wiſh openly, and that often, that King *Henry* the IV. would paſſe by his Colledge, that he might throw himſelf down upon him from the window and break his neck. But by that croſſe caper he might be ſure to break his own. For theſe words, and for teaching openly, that it was good to diſſemble and performe obedience in ſhew for a while, he was condemned by Sentence of the Court to perpetual baniſhment, and (if ever he returned) to be hanged without any other forme of arraignment.

Now if from their feats in forreign Countries, we look to their doings in *England*, what troubles they have ſtirred, and what miſchiefs they have plotted continually againſt this State, now above a hundred years. We are at a loſſe in that prodigious heap of iniquity. They have afforded matter to large Volumes of Hiſtory, and the labour of the worthy writers, need not to be ſeconded by mine. And when the Jeſuite *Eudemono-Johannes* in his Apologetick for *Garnet*, would excuſe or deny the treaſons wrought under the pretence of a Catholick zeal, the truth of them was aſſerted by the R. Reverend and Learned *Robert Abbot Biſhop of Salisbury*, out of the publick Acts and Records of Courts, and out of the very books of Adverſaries, *Eliot* and *Watſon*. How many attempts were made againſt the life of the Bleſſed Queen *Elizabeth*? And in what treaſon was there a Jeſuite wanting? *Parry*, *Cullen*, *Williams*, *York*, *Squire*, *Hesket*, *Lopez*, *Babington*, with his aſſociates, and how many more? All were aſſiſted

In his *Antilogia.*

aſſiſted and prompted by Jeſuites, as the judicial examinations will juſtifie.

And now we ſpeak of *Babington* and his aſſociates, I find two brothers *Bellamy's*, both apprehended for hiding them, after they were openly proclaimed traitors, in their houſe neer *Harrowhill*, where they were kept ten dayes, and clothed in ruſtical habits. There they were all taken and thence carried to priſon, where one of the *Bellamies* ſtrangled himſelf, the other was executed with the conſpirators; his name *Hierome Bellamy*. From which of the two brothers our Adverſary *Thomas Bellamy* is deſcended, and whether from either or neither, himſelf beſt knows. But it ſeems by his behaviour, that the crime of *hiding and diſguiſing traitors* runs in the blood: For what is his covering of the parricidial doctrine of Jeſuites with falſe conſtructions, but *hiding and diſguiſing traitors*; whoſe doctrine is declared treaſonable by ſundry Acts of Parliament? Let him take warning by the crime and the ill ſucceſſe of theſe men of his name, and apply to himſelf that Sentence of *Tully*, which he miſapplyeth to the Proteſtants of Integrity. *Miror te Antoni quorum facta imitere eorum exitus non pertimeſcere.* Since you imitate the actions of men of your name, *Sir Bellamy*, I wonder you are not frighted, with thinking of their ends.

The Devil and the Jeſuites having been ſo often diſappointed of their attempts againſt *England*, in the end contrived the fouleſt plot that ingenious cruelty did in any age imagine; the Gunpowder-Treaſon, which ſhall be to the Worlds end, the wonder of ſuc-

ceeding ages, and the ſhame of ours. This was the godly product of the Engliſh Seminaries abroad, and the Roman education. It is eaſie to judge that the plotters of it had been bred long in another Climate then the middle aire of *England*; for it looks like one of the feats of *Cæſar Borgia*. *Non noſtri generis monſtrum nec ſanguinis*. Of that attempt to cut off King and Kingdome with one blow, none could be capable, but ſuch as had many years breathed the ſame aire where he reigned, who wiſhed that the Romans had but one neck, that he might cut it off with one ſtroke. But a Jeſuite is capable of deviſing, and the Romiſh zeal of executing any miſchief, though never ſo prodigious, to promote the Papal intereſt. And they have law for it, even the Roman Decree, the Oracle of the Pope himſelf. *We do not account them for murtherers* (ſaith his Holineſſe) *who burning with the zeal of our Catholick Mother the Church againſt excommunicate perſons, ſhall happen to kill ſome of them.* Now *England* was lying under many excommnnications, when the Gunpowder-Treaſon was plotted, and lyeth under them ſtill, for they never were repealed.

Cauſa 23. *qu.* 5. *Can. Excommunicatorum.* Non enim eos homicidas arbitramur quos adverſus excommunicatos zelo Catholicæ Matris Eccleſiæ ardentes aliquos eorum trucidaſſe configerit.

Truly ſo far we muſt excuſe *Campian*, *Garnet*, *Hall*, *Hamond*, and other Jeſuites, who have plotted or incouraged rebellions and treaſons in *England*. They have done no more then they were commanded or allowed by the Pope. And here I muſt be a ſuitor to all the conſcionable Roman Catholieks, who abhorre theſe wicked wayes, to acknowledge ingenuously that the

Actors

Actors were grounded upon the fundamental Laws of the Court of *Rome*. And that the Pope the Head of their Faith, is he that commands by his Canons and Bulls the ſlaughter of thoſe that diſpleaſe him, the breach of faith, the depoſing of Kings, and the rebellion of the people, as I have ſufficiently demonſtrated before. If after that they adhere to the other points of the Roman Religion, upon this main ground of the Roman Faith, That *the Pope cannot erre*, they blinde themſelves wilfully, and building their faith upon an unſafe ground, they may come ſhort of the end of their faith, the ſalvation of their ſouls.

This power of depoſing Kings, and expoſing them to the attempts of their enemies, ſo peremptorily aſſumed by the Pope, and ſo boldly executed by his zealous agents, ought to be grounded upon ſome proof out of holy Writ. In all the paſſages which I have alledged out of Jeſuites books, I finde but two of thoſe proofs.

The one of *Bellarmine*, who proveth that *the King of* England *is ſubject unto the Pope by a right common to all Chriſtians, by reaſon of the Apoſtolick power; according to this Text,* Pſal. 44. *Thou ſhalt make them Princes over all the earth.* In that Pſalm, which with us is the 45. this promiſe is made to the Kings Spouſe, which is the Church, the Spouſe of Chriſt our King; *Inſtead of thy Fathers houſe ſhall be thy children, whom thou mayeſt make Princes over all the earth.* Anſwerably to that we learn *Rev.* 1. 6. That *God hath made us Kings and Prieſts unto God our Father.* That bleſſing then (to be underſtood and fulfilled in Gods good time) belongs to all the true *children of the Church.* The ingroſſing of it to the Pope alone,

Bellarm. lib. cui Titulus *Tortus*, p. 19.

Rex Anglorum ſubjectus eſt Papæ jus omnibus Chriſtiadis communi, ratione Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis juxta illud Pſ. 4. 4. Conſtitues eos Principes ſuper omnem terram.

alone, to the excluſion of all Chriſtians, is a bold, and indeed a ridiculous incloſing of Commons without any warrant.

Suarez brings a proof of the like validity. After that horrid aſſertion alledged before, that after that a Prince is excommunicated, he may be diſpoſſeſs'd or ſlain by any perſons whatſoever. He prevents the objection out of *Rom.*13.1. *Let every ſoul be ſubject to the higher Powers*, and ſaith that the Apoſtle *never added, Let all be ſubject alſo to the Powers excommunicated and deprived by the Pope.* A recreative proof which would make but a poor *enthymema.* The Apoſtle addeth not, that we muſt be ſubject alſo to the higher Powers deprived by the Turk; *Ergo* if the Great Turk pronounce a ſentence of deprivation againſt a Chriſtian Prince, the Subjects of that Prince are free from their allegiance, and may diſpoſſeſs and kill him when they think good.

Suarez adverſus ſect Anglic' lib.6. c.6. ſect.24.

Paulus his verbis Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit *Rom.*13 nunquam addidit, etiam poteſtatibus excommunicatis vel deprivatis a Papa omnes ſubditiſint.

But what! Theſe proofs are as concluding as thoſe that the Popes themſelves bring to prove their power, as when Pope *Nicholas* the I. proveth the Papal power, becauſe it was ſaid to Saint *Peter, Kill and eat*; and becauſe *to him alone was granted that power to draw a Net full of Fiſhes to Land.*

Nicholaus I. Epiſt. ad Michael Imp. Conſtant.

Petro ſpecialiter oſtenſum eſt ut ea maſtaret & manducaret Illi ſoli juſſum eſt ut rete plenum piſcibus ad littus traheret.

Bonifac. VIII. *Extravag. Vnam Sanctam.*

Likewiſe *Bonifacius* the VIII. proveth his primacy and Sovereignty, becauſe it is written, that in the beginning God created heaven and earth. *Joſeph*'s Coat of many colours, and the Head of *Holofernes* would have been as pertinent to prove the Popes Temporal and

and Spiritual power. Yet ſee how reſolutely and ſyllogiſtically his Holineſs concludes upon thoſe premiſſes; *Wherefore we declare, ſay, define, and pronounce, that it is of neceſſity of ſalvation to be ſubject to the Roman Prelate.*

After theſe ſcientifical proofs of the Popes power to diſpoſe of the Crowns and Lives of Princes, Who ſhould make any more doubt of it! Who would not in the ſtrength of theſe reaſons venture his life to dethrone Heretick Kings, and ſpill their hearts blood for a ſacrifice of ſweet ſavour unto his Holineſs!

CHAP. VI.

Some Aſſertions of the Libeller are examined.

AFter I have vindicated the Proteſtant Religion from the aſperſion of Rebellion, and laid that charge in its proper place, I have done my main buſineſs. And now partly out of compaſſion, partly out of contempt, I will paſs by moſt of the untruths of this Libeller, which are well nigh as many as his lines, contenting my ſelf to have diſproved two of them. The one, *That the Rebel-doctrines are back'd by the generality of them that call themſelves Proteſtants.* pag. 109. But I have proved the contrary by their publick Confeſſions.

This plain dealing of his is towards the latter end of his Book: He durſt not have ſpoken ſo in the beginning. But he muſt amuſe the Reader a great while with railing againſt the Presbyterians, or the Proteſtants of Integrity,

tegrity, before he charge the generality of the Proteſtants with rebellion. Beſides, he might hope tha few would have the patience to read his book ſo far.

This is worſe. *In this Century of years* (ſaith he) *there have been more Princes depoſed and murthered for their Religion by theſe Proteſtants of Integrity, then have been in all the others ſince Chriſts time by the Popes excommunications, or the attempts and means of the Roman Catholicks.*

It is not eaſie to determine whether malice or ignorance be prevalent in that aſſertion. I have ſhewed by unreproachable teſtimonies, that the Popes have filled Chriſtendome with ſedition and rebellion for many centuries of yeers; and what the Jeſuites have been acting undet them in this laſt Century. To which ſince the Libeller confines himſelf, it had been no hard task to name thoſe many Kings depoſed and murthered by the Proteſtants ſo lately, if the aſſertion had any truth in it.

When did a Proteſtant Miniſter thruſt his knife into his Sovereignes body, as the Monk *James Clement* did to his King *Henry* the I I I. and as the Jeſuite *Campian* would have done to his Sovereigne Queen *Elizabeth*? When did a Miniſter inſtruct any to kill his King, as the Jeſuites did *Parry*, the Jeſuite *Walpole*, *Edward Squire*, The Jeſuite *Holt*, *Patrick*, *Cullen*, *York*, and *Williams*; The Jeſuite *Parſons*, *Heskec* to tempt the Earl of *Darby* to rebellion? Or as the Jeſuite *Varade* inſtructed *Barriere* to kill *Henry* the I V. of *France*, and the whole Colledge of the Jeſuites *John Chaſtell*: Or what Proteſtant, either of the Clergie or Laity was known to have made

made an attempt againſt the life of his Sovereigne? For the late Engliſh Traytors who brought their moſt excellent Sovereigne to the Scaffold, are no more Proteſtants then they are Papiſts, and are Jeſuites in the point of obedience.

When this Libeller called the Miniſters of *Scotland rare Saltpeter men, fit for fireworks, and to prepare matter to blow up both Church and State*, Did he remember that he gave them the right ſtyle belonging to the Jeſuites *Garnet*, *Hall*, *Hammond*, *Gerard* and *Greenville*? For theſe were *Saltpeter-men* with a witneſs; and without metaphor, *prepared matter to blow up Church and State.*

Was it ever put to the charge of a Proteſtant Divine, Chaplain to his Prince, that he recommended to him a man ſent by his enemies to make him away? Or that he made queſtions to the Devil about his life? Or that he ſent word to his enemies of ſuch things as he had revealed unto him to eaſe his Conſcience, as the Jeſuite *Cotton* did? Or did ever our Divines blow the doctrine of King-killing into ignorant ſouls, as the Jeſuites did to *Ravaillac*; who being moſt rude, and a very Brute in all other points of Religion, was found by his examiners exquiſitely skilful in all the evaſions and diſtinctions of the Jeſuites about that horrible doctrine? Or did any convicted Traytor depoſe that he had declared his purpoſe to a Miniſter, and ſhewed him the knife for the execution, as *Ravaillac* maintained to Father *Aubigni* before his Judges? Some ſuch charges which might be juſtified by Records of Courts, and Judicial proceedings, this Accuſer would have brought, if there

had been any; and we are ſure that he would not have ſpared us. If ever any man deſerved to be ſued upon an Action of Slander, it is this Libeller; for thus ſlandering the generality of the Proteſtants, and the State, of which he is a Subject. But I fear that if a Purſuivant were ſent for him, he would return and anſwer, *Non eſt inventus.*

page 110. As for his ſaying, That *the doctrine of* Rome, *with the opinions and practiſes of all its Doctors, are (as he hath ſhewed) quite contrary to rebellion, and all that is ſaid againſt that Church in this particular is meer calumny.* Let the world judge whether he hath ſhewed what he ſaith, and whether is more credible, his ſaying, or my proving. Yet becauſe he ſtands for the Roman Church, I deſire my Reader to take notice, that in this point of obedience, my quarrel hath been with the Court, not with the Church of *Rome*; between which I conceive as much difference, as between the Wind and the Sea. The Church might be quiet enough from ſtorms of rebellion, did not the boyſterous wind of ſedition make it foam, blown from the Court of *Rome* by its agents the Ieſuites.

After that the Libeller had railed againſt us, he falls upon a common place of loyalty, and brings ſome texts of S. *Auſtin*, taken out of Proteſtant books made by our Reverend Divines againſt the late Rebels. For that he is not acquainted with S. *Auſtin*, he ſhews it by the commendation he giveth him, calling him *the moſt ancient and learned Father of the Chriſtian Church.* S. *Auſtin* deſerveth a better commendation, but he is neither the moſt ancient, nor the moſt learned of the Fathers.

pag. 119.

Moſt

Moſt of thoſe whom the Church calls Fathers, were before him, for he dyed in the fifth Century; And as for Learning, *Origen* and *Hierome* were far beyond him. Could the Engliſh Seminaries pitch upon no abler Champion to fight againſt us then this raw ſouldier? A more paſſionate and leſs reaſonable Writer I never met with. His ſtyle is a perpetual barking, and biting too, but without teeth. I could lay up a great heap of his untruths, , ignorances, and impertinencies, if I would make ſuch a wilde-gooſe-chaſe as to follow him in all his falſe turns: But both my Readers and I have better buſineſſes then to heap up dung, or ſearch all the Impoſtures of a Novice of the Ieſuites.

For the end, he brings ſome rules of Law concerning the nature of the Engliſh Monarchy; which if he had ſtudied well, he had never taken upon him to defend the doctrine of the Ieſuites, which is inconſiſtent with them: For they allow not that which he affirmeth; *That the Monarchy of* England *can do no homage, having no ſuperiour; and that the Crown of* England *is independent, and his* jura Regalia *are holden of no Lord but the Lord of heaven.* *Bellarmine* ſaith the clean contrary, and makes the Pope Sovereigne of *England* by double right, as we heard before. Yet this Scholar of the Ieſuites may give *Bellarmines* ſenſe to that aſſertion, that the Crown of *England* is independent; for holding with his Maſters, that the Crown of *England* belongeth to the Pope, he will ſay alſo that it is independent, and oweth homage to none but God; meaning, that the Pope, the right Sovereigne, oweth homage for it to none but God. The man being evidently a Scholar of

the Jeſuites, cannot but be inſtructed in the doctrine of equivocations, about which *Tolet* gives large inſtructions in his book of *the Inſtruction of Prieſts*, ſaying expreſly, That *it is lawful ſometimes to uſe equivocations, and to deceive the hearer.*

Tolet, lib. 4. Inſtruct. Sacerd. cap. 21. Aliquando uti licet æquivocatione, & decipere audientem, ut cum Iudex petit juramentum ab aliquo ut dicat crimen vel proprium vel alienum ſi omnino eſt occultum, & jurare cogatur, utatur æquivocatione puta, Neſcio, intelligendo intra ſe, ut dicam tibi vel ſimile. *Et lib.* 5. *c.*38. *&* *lib.* 4. *c.*21,22.

And *Sanchez* tells us in what caſe it is lawful to equivocate: *There is a juſt cauſe* (ſaith he) *to uſe theſe equivocations, whenſoever it is neceſſary or uſeful for the preſervation of body, honour or eſtate.* Since then the ſect and Religion of the Jeſuites, which ſubjecteth the Crown of *England* unto the Pope, cannot ſubſiſt in *England* without palliating that criminal doctrine with equivocation: They finde it neceſſary for the preſervation of body, honour, and eſtate, to profeſs that *the Monarchy of* England *can do no homage, having no ſuperiour*; *and that the Crown of* England *is independent*: but to whom that independant Crown belongs, that they will reſerve in their thoughts. Or if they ſay they will be true to the King, they will by the King underſtand the Pope, or the King of *Spain*, to whom the Pope gave the Kingdome of *England* fourſcore years ago, and never recalled that gift ſince.

*Sanch. oper. Mor. l.*2. *c.*6. *num.*19. Cauſa jure utendi his amphibologiis eſt, quoties id neceſſarium aut utile eſt ad ſalutem corporis honorem, res familiares tuendas

Wherefore if this Gentleman appear in Print again, or any of his confreres for him about this point of obedience, we muſt deſire him to ſpeak more home, before he can juſtifie himſelf to be a true *Philanax Anglicus*, and a good Engliſh ſubject of his Majeſty. To that end let him declare that he acknowledgeth the following Articles

ticles as true and juſt, and is ready to ſubſcribe unto them.

I. The Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty *Charles* the II. hath no ſuperiour on Earth, *de jure*, in the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and other His Majeſties Dominions.

II. All Roman Catholicks born in theſe His Majeſties Dominions, are his ſubjects, *de jure*, and of none elſe, although they have taken the Orders of the Church of *Rome*, or have a General of ſome Religion to whom they have ſworn obedience.

III. The Doctrine of Cardinal *Bellarmine* is falſe, that the King of *England* is ſubject to the Pope by double right, beſides his pretended ſubjection in matters ſpiritual.

IV. The Pope hath no power to deprive Kings of their Kingdoms, or any way to diſpoſe of their Crowns or their Lives.

V. The Pope cannot abſolve the ſubjects of His Majeſty King *Charles* the II. or of any of His Succeſſors, from the Oath of their Allegiance. Neither are they now abſolved from it by any precedent Decree from the Popes.

VI. A King declared heretick or excommunicate by the Pope, is not thereby diſabled from exerciſing his Kingly juriſdiction.

The

VII. The excommunicating or depriving of a King by the Pope, doth not exempt that Kings natural ſubjects from the duty of their Allegiance.

VIII. King *John* had no power to give his Kingdome to the Pope, without the conſent of his Peers and Commons: Neither is that Contract of any validity.

IX. A Prieſt having learned in Confeſſion a Conſpiracy againſt the Kings life, ought to diſcover it to the King or his Councel.

X. The Peers and Commons of *England*, and other His Majeſties Dominions, have no power to judge their King, much leſs to depoſe him, or put him to death, or to chooſe another King, or to alter the Government of the State.

He that will refuſe to ſubſcribe theſe Articles, and openly profeſs his conſent unto them, cannot juſtifie his love and fidelity to the King, and is altogether unfit to charge the Proteſtants with rebellious tenets. *Vacuum culpa eſſe decet qui in alium paratus eſt dicere.* He that is in an error cannot juſtifie himſelf but by forſaking it. That yeilding is glorious; and to be overcome by the truth is a great victory. Without ſuch a juſtification, leſſons of loyalty given by a Ieſuite are unſuitable, and of as little effect as a Lecture of Chaſtity preach'd by an allowed Curtizan of *Rome*.

JOH.

JOH. VIII.

Γνώσεσθε τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια ἐλευθερώσει ὑμᾶς.

CAROLE *qui Latias artes & fulmina bruta,*
Et Capitolini contemnis Vejovis iras,
Mactæ manumissus cœlesti lumine Princeps,
Lumine Romuleas tibi dispellente tenebras,
Assertamque sacro capiti firmante coronam.
Dum trepidi Reges & sancti luminis orbi
Serva Quirinali submittunt colla tyranno,
Tu liber specta stantes ad fræna Monarchas
Stratorum officio, succollantesque cathedræ
Augustos lixas, mox flexo poplite curvos
Turpia purpureo libantes oscula socco.
Erige tu curvos rectus; fratresque doceto
Quos Regum Pater agnoscit Natosque Deosque,
Quàm male prostituat divum Rex sanctus honorem
Tarpeiam lambens crepidam; solosque pudendum
Excussisse jugum, libertatique litasse,
Gnaviter amplexos cœlestia lumina Reges.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAge 8. line 17. *Galileo.* p. 9. l. 5. put out *which.* p. 11. in the margent, l. 10. *tenerentur,* p. 19. l. 12. *master.* p. 24. l. 14. *Popes.* p. 26. l. 10. *by the preaching.* l. 12. *oppreſſing.* l. *oppoſing.* p. 30. l. ult. *Francis the II,* p. 31. l. 7. *Ieſuites.* p. 33. l. 20. *Henry the IV.* l. 22. *becauſe.* p. 39. l. 24. *the ordinary.* l. 13. *any of five Kings.* p. 49. l. 28. *unequitable.* l. *equitable.* p. 53. l. 13. *ſtonie the juſt.* p. 87. l. 13. *frequent.* l. *pregnant.* p. 113. l. 24. *Pope.* p. 115. in the margent, l. 6. *non ſine manibus.* p. 124. l. put out *perſons,* put *letters.* p. 128. l. 25. *Mutius.* p. 137. l. 26. *depoſe.*